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ABSTRACT

This report is essentially a documentary outline of the events associated with the Newark teacher strikes followed by an analysis of the implications of those events for the future of education in Newark and elsewhere. The chronology provides a detailed delineation of the sequence of events before, during, and after each strike. The information provided was drawn from interviews, press reports, documents, and direct observation. The analysis that follows examines the strikes and the circumstances surrounding them to identify the specific issues and participants, determine the relationship these events had within larger contexts, and examine the direction in which precipitating events appear headed in the future. Guiding the analysis is the question of why social conflict in Newark became focused on the school system. In the conclusions, race relations and social stratification emerge prominently as the contexts which define events. (Author/JF)

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Social Conflict: teachers' strikes in newark, 1964-1971

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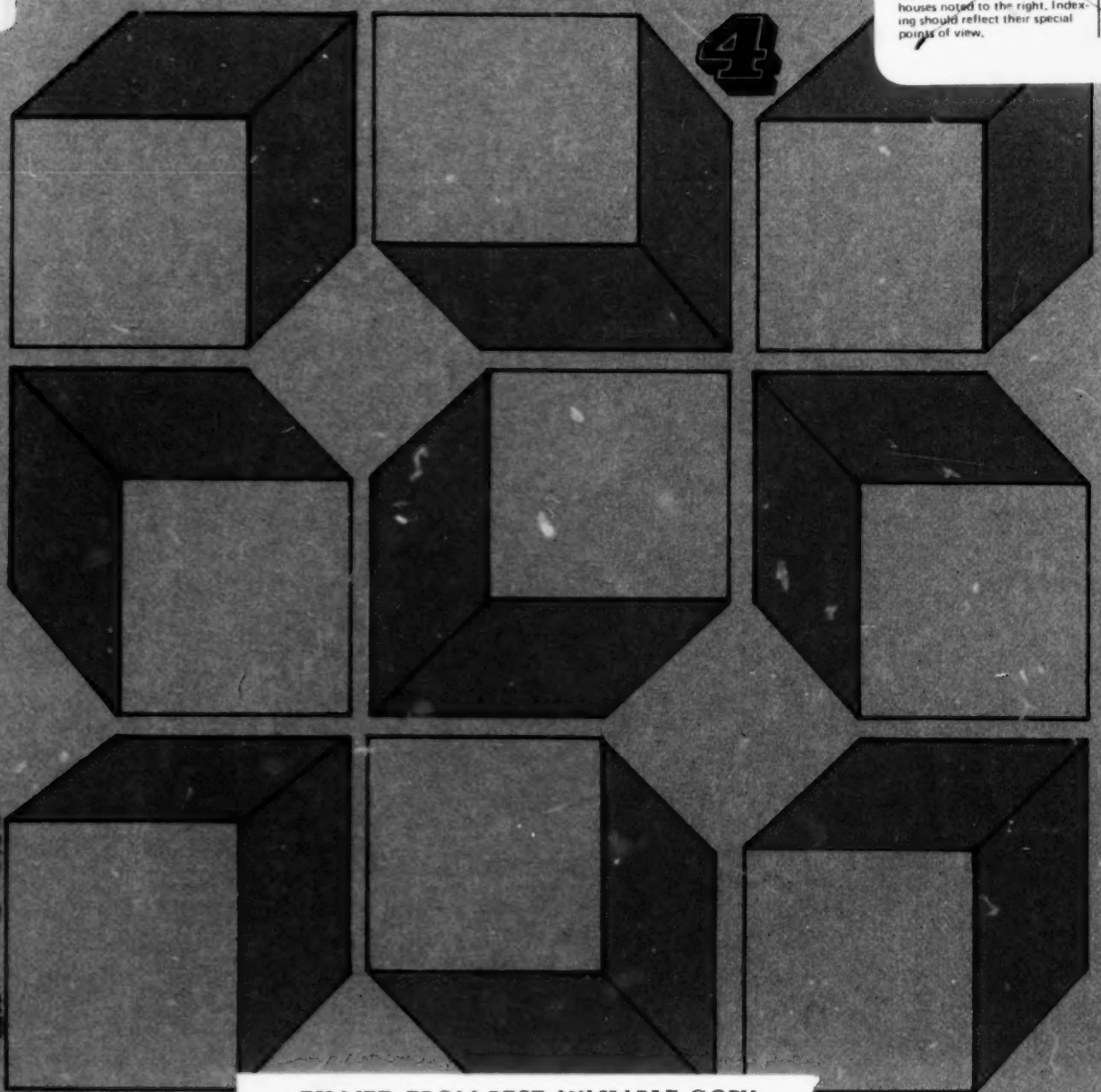

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SOCIAL CONFLICT:

TEACHERS' STRIKES IN NEWARK, 1964-1971

An Issue Paper on a Topical Subject in Education

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NOTE

This report was made with the help of a research grant from the New Jersey Department of Education in 1971, and with partial support from National Institute of Mental Health grant number MH-16425-01. Now this report belongs to the people.

FOREWORD

This report, the fourth in the Perspective series on educational problems and issues, includes a documentary outline of events associated with the Newark teacher strikes and an analysis of the implications of those events for the future of education in Newark and elsewhere. The content will be familiar to those who observed or participated in the situation at the time. They may, however, be surprised at the patterns that emerge from the chronology when seen from a few years' distance.

As a historical document this paper surpasses its original purpose. The chronology, taken largely from newspaper accounts, is a striking portrait of a troubled city. It reveals the shifting political alliances and social relationships at a time when emotions ran high in Newark. Consequently, we have here an unusual view of what had become a thoroughly traumatized city by the close of the period of time covered in this report, 1964-1971, and a perspective on what could happen in any large, ethnically diverse city troubled by serious disagreement over the educational process.

Because this was a time when personal involvement in important issues was high among members of all classes and ethnic groups in the city, this account is necessarily a personal one. It focuses on stands taken by key individuals who represented large constituencies within Newark. It is not the intention of the authors to single out the actions of any individual or group, but rather to illustrate by a detailed listing of occurrences how movements grow and evolve, and how unlikely events can take place. The document shows how the separate elements and forces within the city coalesced until positions taken by the different groups became rigid and the groups immovable. I believe we can all learn something from this retrospective view of a confusing, tumultuous, and highly dramatic period for Newark.

Stanley J. Salett
Assistant Commissioner
Research, Planning and Evaluation

INTRODUCTION

On April 18, 1971, the Newark Board of Education and the Newark Teachers' Union signed a two-year contract, bringing to an end the longest teachers' strike in United States history. This report examines the 1971 strike and the preceding strikes of 1970, 1966, and 1965.

This examination will include a detailed delineation of the sequence of events before, during and after each of the strikes during the period 1964 to 1971. The description of these events is based upon a variety of information sources, including interview, press reports, documents and direct observation.[1]

The report also seeks to analyze the strikes and the circumstances surrounding them to determine why the strikes occurred, what the specific issues were, who the participants were, what relationship these events had within larger contexts, the direction in which precipitating events appear headed in the future and what actions might be taken to diminish the likelihood of another strike in 1973.

The analytic perspective will be sociological; as a point of departure, the strikes will be conceptualized as a social problem. This is not intended as a means of offering "the solution" to "the problem," however. On the contrary, this mode of analysis has been adopted to stimulate further consideration and study of a set of events which is generally agreed to constitute a problem, while the precise nature of the problem eludes consensus.

The analysis is guided by the question of why social conflict in Newark became focused in the school system. It is hoped that any answers that emerge in this report will have relevance and application for students, parents, community groups interested in educational change, board of education members, teachers, education administrators, elected and appointed governmental officials at all levels of government, as well as officials of the State Department of Education.

In the examination of the strikes and surrounding circumstances as the arena of action and change in the community, race relations and social stratification emerge prominently as the contexts which define events. These are manifest dimensions of social conflict in urban communities. Community power as a goal of competing interest groups, clashing idea systems, the dynamics of social movements, self-determination and political ascendancy, while not always as visible, are equally significant dimensions. Even more significant and less visible are the effects of these events upon the lives of the 80,000 school children of Newark, in the past as well as the present and future.

A CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ISSUES AND STRIKES

PRE - 1964

This report concentrates on a very limited period in the history of the Newark school system, the past seven years. But it is instructive to glance back as many as a hundred years. The problems in the school system then were similar to those we face today: money loomed large as an issue, classes were overcrowded and the instruction provided in them was criticized and questioned.[2] Efforts were made to increase the capacity of the school system toward the end of the 19th century, but by 1910 population growth had so rapidly outpaced growth of the schools that there were 10,000 more students than the schools could accommodate. The schools were further confronted early in the 20th century with the task of educating large numbers of children who were European immigrants or the sons and daughters of immigrants, for whom English was not a first language.

Like the city itself, the school system reached the pinnacle of growth by the 1930's. Very few school facilities were constructed after the 1920's; in fact, most of the buildings had been constructed by the turn of the century. In the 1930's, with European immigration greatly diminished, population growth stabilized, and with the physical plant built, the school system settled down to a fairly stable set of procedures and practices.

Following World War II, however, changes again occurred in the city, changes that would have implications for the school system in the following decades. Large and increasing numbers of middle-class[3] residents, largely white, were migrating from Newark to its outlying suburbs. At the same time, increasing numbers of poor blacks were migrating to Newark from the South. Middle-class blacks also began migrating in greater numbers from Newark to the suburbs, with the overall consequence that Newark's population was becoming increasingly poorer. By 1960, the racial composition of the Newark school population had become 50 per cent black and 50 per cent white, while the composition of the personnel staffing the school system remained overwhelmingly white.

In the early 1960's several developments were clear: (1) the school buildings had severely deteriorated after long years of use with little expansion and inadequate maintenance; (2) the population of the city was younger, poorer and less Catholic, indicating that the number of students who would have to be accommodated in the public schools would probably rise continually for the next decade or two; (3) the percentage of black students was rising; (4) the flight to the suburbs by black and white middle-class families accelerated as parents sought to place their children in schools that they defined as superior in quality to the Newark schools; (5) the long dominant Newark Teachers' Association (NTA), a professional organization, found itself contending with the rival Newark Teachers' Union (NTU), a trade union affiliated with the AFL-CIO, as each sought to represent the teachers of the entire school system; (6) educational requirements for employment were rising; (7) the growing civil rights movement focused its attention in Newark on the school system, around issues such as the shortage of facilities for a student population increasingly black and poor, and the deterioration in quality of the education they were receiving.

GUIDE TO READING THE CHRONOLOGY

The chart that follows on pages 4 through 54 is a chronology of the events related to teachers' strikes in Newark between 1964 and 1971. We have presented these events as they occurred, day by day, in a modified calendar form. The Chronology should be read from left to right across both of the pages in a spread, as indicated by the black arrows at the top of the page. Each day is separated by a row of asterisks; if the description of the events of one day continues beyond a column, this is indicated by a small outlined arrow. The months are separated by pairs of vertical lines. Three vertical lines signifies the end of a year.

1964

FEBRUARY

28 NTU, through its President, Vincent J. Young, threatens it will call a strike of Newark teachers unless the Newark Board of Education (the Board) agrees to meet NTU proposals for improved facilities and pay increases for teachers.[4]

OCTOBER

27 A group of representatives from NTU meets with the Board, while some members of NTU picket outside the Board offices. The NTU delegation demands a collective bargaining agreement with the Board, pay raises for teachers and less crowded classes.

NTA, in opposition to NTU, calls for an election to determine which of the two teachers organizations will represent all the teachers in the system, adding that it prefers "professional negotiations" to collective bargaining.[5]

1965

JANUARY

6 NTA holds negotiation talks with the Board in pursuit of a contract for the 1966-1967 school year. NTA demands include: an increase in the starting salary of teachers from $5,600 to $6,500, an increase in the maximum salary of teachers from $10,000 to $15,000, raises for substitute teachers, a doubling of salaries for coaching staff members, the hiring of 240 teachers to reduce class size, the hiring of 300 teacher aides to relieve regular teachers of clerical chores, improved medical coverage and improved services for children.[7]

15 The American Arbitration Association enters the dispute over ballots in the representational elections between the two teachers' organizations and declares NTA the winner, by a margin of 19 votes. The final outcome after the recount is NTA: 1,466 votes, NTU: 1,447 votes, and 12 votes for no representation at all.[8]

27 The Board authorizes planning for a second building for the Camden Street School, to house grades pre-kindergarten through four.

Sidney Rosenfeld, Executive Director of NTU, proposes to the Board that funds be obtained from the United Community Corporation, Newark's umbrella anti-poverty agency, to train teachers' aides for the Newark school system.[11]

JUNE

25 NTA and the Board arrive at a one-year "agreement" for the 1965-1966 school year, constituting the first agreement in the State of New Jersey between a school board and a teachers' organization. The major points are:

1. The right for NTA to negotiate an agreement for 1966-1967 (and each year thereafter as the sole bargaining agent for all the teachers in the system); negotiations to begin December 1, 1965; in the event of an impasse in negotiations, the State Commissioner of Education would be requested to appoint a mediator;

2. a four-step grievance procedure terminating in advisory arbitration;

3. improvement in working conditions with specification of working hours and class-load limits (a maximum of 30 students per teacher);

DECEMBER

15 A representation election between NTA and NTU is held. The outcome of the election in which 92% of the eligible voters vote, is a tie: each organization receives 1,373 votes, while 226 ballots are disputed.[6]

FEBRUARY

24 The Board recognizes NTA as bargaining agent for all the teachers in the Newark system and prepares to negotiate a contract.[9]

APRIL

11 The Victoria Foundation establishes a pre-kindergarten enrichment program at Cleveland School for 4-year old children from disadvantaged backgrounds.[10]

4. per diem salary for long-term substitute teachers based upon an annual base salary of $5,200;

5. an increase in the basic allowance for sick leave from 10 to 15 days;

6. a reduction from 10 to 8 years' service for a study sabbatical and a reduction from 20 to 16 years' service for a rest and recreation sabbatical;

7. a pledge from the Board to make immediate application for federal funds to be used to hire teachers' aides, who would relieve teachers of such "non-teaching duties" as lunchroom duty, playground duty, bus duty, cafeteria duty, sidewalk supervision, milk distribution and money collection.[12]

Norman Schiff, City Corporation Counsel, who served as counsel to the Board in its negotiations with NTA, describes the understanding reached as "a declaration of policy and good faith." He adds that the Board cannot legally bind itself to any agreement, and therefore the agreement does not constitute a contract. The agreement does not include a no-strike clause, although the Board had sought to get NTA to agree to the insertion of such a clause.[13]

SEPTEMBER

7 The Weequahic Community Council, a citizens' group, announces that they may begin to picket schools in their area in order to call attention to the need for additional space in the schools.

The Board reports that the school system in general is 7,000 pupil stations short.[14]

9 The Board announces that it may attempt to relieve overcrowded classes by moving some classes to churches, boys' clubs and other neighborhood facilities.[15]

21 NTU pickets South Eighth Street School protesting overcrowded classes, non-teaching chores, and low salaries of teachers.[18]

26 Another conflict arises between NTA and NTU. An East Side High School teacher has been absent without leave since May, working as a field representative for the New Jersey State Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. The Board has informed the teacher that dismissal proceedings will be instituted unless he returns to his teaching duties or resigns; he instead requests a leave of absence. NTA declares that the teacher should be fired for breach of contract, and that any other course of action would in-

27 Members of NTU picket Newark City Hall demanding $1,500 across-the-board pay increase for all teachers, smaller classes, placing of substitute teachers on a salary schedule, and other benefits. NTU again calls for a new election to determine who will represent the teachers in the Newark school system.[21]

NOVEMBER

4 Franklyn Titus becomes Acting Superintendent of Schools. He asks principals and supervisors in the Newark schools to cooperate with NTA in its new role as exclusive bargaining agent for teachers.[22]

28 The Board delays its planned request for an anti-strike injunction while trying to settle its dispute with NTU through negotiations. NTA holds a "keep the schools open" rally, denouncing NTU strike plans.[26]

30 Mediator Allan Weisenfeld holds talks with NTU, NTA, and the Board, in an effort to resolve the conflict over the negotiation of next year's contract by NTA versus another representational election among teachers to determine which organization shall act as exclusive bargaining agent. Superior Court Judge Ward J. Herbert signs an injunction against the planned strike by NTU.[27]

OCTOBER

10 Ruth M. Buehrer, President of NTA, says that she is interested in participating in the selection of a new superintendent of schools, and that NTA will make recommendations on a new superintendent to the Board.[16]

14 NTA says that teachers' grievances have been piling up. Grievances are being handled by the agreed upon four-step grievance procedure which involves presenting teachers' grievances first to the principal. The teacher then has the option of presenting the grievance to the superintendent of schools and in turn to the Board. Finally, he may appeal to an independent arbitrator, whose decision would be "advisory" to the Board.[17]

volve a radical change in policy and would have to be negotiated with NTA. The association further states that if the Board proceeds without such negotiations, it would constitute a gross violation of their agreement and they would consider it a class grievance.

Sidney Rosenfeld, NTU leader, says that the teacher in question should be granted leave without having first to return to the school system. The Board insists that his leave will not be considered until he returns.[19]

NTA plans to negotiate a 1966-1967 contract with the Board at a meeting scheduled for December. NTU asks the Board to cooperate with them in holding a new representation election to determine which of the two teachers' organizations will represent the teachers of the city's school system in negotiations for the next contract.[20]

18 NTU announces that it plans to strike the school system on November 22. Board President Dr. Harold Ashby warns that the Board will not tolerate a teachers' strike. NTA members demonstrate in front of the Board building and City Hall, in opposition to the proposed strike announced by NTU. This demonstration by NTA is the first it has engaged in in its 46-year history.[23]

NTU votes in favor of a strike to be conducted beginning December 2.[24]

26 NTU President Rosenfeld accuses NTA of having signed a "sweetheart contract" which has brought Newark teachers nothing. He claims that many teachers want a new representational election before the next contract is negotiated.[25]

DECEMBER

2 NTU's strike against the Newark school system commences as five hundred and eighty-six teachers walk out of schools. NTA members and unaffiliated teachers report to work as usual. Acting Superintendent Titus reports that attendance at elementary schools was normal, while attendance at high schools was 10 per cent below normal. NTA President Ruth M. Buehrer calls the strike a failure. George Altomare of New York City's UFT comes to Newark to help direct the strike by NTU.

In explaining their strike action, NTU says that there is a reopening clause in the contract that was signed by the Board and NTA in 1964 that became effective on December 2, 1965. Therefore, as of December 2nd NTU feels that it does not have to honor the NTA negotiated contract's expiration date of July, 1966. In the course of its announcements, NTU refers to NTA as farcical and again calls for a representational election.

Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio meets early in the day with NTU representatives to try to avoid the strike. His staff involved in the meeting includes the Deputy Mayor, the City Business Administrator, Corporation Counsel, the Mayor's Administrative Assistant, the Board President, several members of the Board and representatives from NTU and NTA.[28]

3 The number of teachers who have not attended classes has risen to 766.[29]

23 Superior Court Judge Herbert fines ten NTU leaders $250 to $300 each and the union itself $1,000 for contempt of court.[32]

1966

JANUARY

21 Representatives of NTA threaten to call a strike if the Board does not include a viable pay scale in their 1966-1967 budget.[33]

28 NTA announces it will call a meeting to take a strike vote next week because it feels the Board has not proceeded with negotiations for next year's contract. NTA also announces it will place sanctions against the Board, including the black-listing of the Newark system in education circles and a publicizing of the system's deficiencies.[34]

9 NTA takes another vote to strike, announcing that the issue is the size of pay raises: NTA is asking $1,000 across-the-board raises for teachers who are at maximum salary and $800 across-the-board raises for all other teachers, while the Board is offering a $700 across-the-board raise for all teachers.

Twelve hundred teachers at the strike call meeting reject NTA President Buehrer's plea that they postpone commencement of the strike while she pursues further negotiations with the Board.[37]

10 Approximately 1,600 of the 3,200 teachers in the Newark school system go on strike.[38]

4 The number of teachers out increases to 829. The Board hires substitute teachers to replace striking NTU teachers. Members of NTA and unaffiliated teachers cross picket lines in order to continue teaching in their classes. Both the city administration of Newark and NTA President Buehrer accuse NTU of encouraging students to stay out of school and of using students to man picket lines around City Hall.[30]

12 Superior Court Judge Herbert denies a motion by the NTU attorney to dismiss contempt charges against leaders of NTU. The Board says that it will not take any disciplinary action in regard to the NTU strike.[31]

31 NTU President Rosenfeld, offers the union's executive board support for any NTA action against the Board. NTA rejects NTU's offer of unity.[35]

FEBRUARY

3 NTA takes a strike vote for a February 10th strike. Seventy per cent of the members voting are in favor of a strike. Dr. Eric Groezinger, Assistant Commissioner of Education of New Jersey, offers to serve as mediator between NTA and the Board.

11 In the second day of the strike, approximately half of the teachers in the city again stay out. NTA officials in negotiations with Mayor Addonizio agree to end the walk out and accept the findings of an arbitrator, Professor John T. Dunlap of Harvard University.[39]

21 Superior Court Judge Nelson K. Mintz dismisses contempt of court charges against the New Jersey Education Association (NJEA) and its executive Secretary Dr. Fred L. Hipp, on recommendation of Jacob Fox, Counsel for the Board. He does levy a fine of $1,000 on NTA, the maximum fine under the law on criminal contempt. He says he is disappointed that he cannot levy a larger fine. The NTA President is given a 90-day suspended sentence by Judge Mintz.[40]

FEBRUARY 1966

28 NTU threatens it will take legal action unless the Board agrees to pay those teachers who reported sick during the recent strike.[41]

MARCH

7 Superior Court Judge Mintz fines 30 teachers, gives them suspended sentences ranging from 30 to 90 days, and places them all on one-year probation.[42]

JULY

7 The Newark school system's student population is reported to be 74 per cent non-white. This figure is based on observations made by principals in the schools of Newark on behalf of the State Department of Education.[45]

1967

JANUARY

31 Negotiations between NTA and the Board for a new agreement make no progress. The main issues are pay increases and the hiring of teacher aides. Dr. Buell Gallagher, President of the City College of New York, is serving as mediator.[46]

FEBRUARY

10 At the NAACP monthly meeting Gustav Heningburg, Chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of Trinity Cathedral, criticizes the Newark school system for severely overcrowded conditions, equipment and supply shortages, obsolete personnel procedures, and the absence of a permanent superintendent for 16 months.[47]

A group of black teachers in the Newark School system come together to discuss education issues pertinent to black teachers and form the Organization of Negro Educators (ONE).[50]

MAY

21 NJEA Executive Secretary Hipp criticizes the Newark school system, describing the schools as particularly dirty, dilapidated, and lacking in supplies and text books. Franklyn Titus suggests that Hipp's criticism is unwarranted and uninformed.[51]

16 In a letter to members of NJEA, NTA appeals for money to assist in the legal defense of those Newark teachers who were fined for contempt of court following the February strike. The NTA appeal explains the strike as being a consequence of years of neglect on the part of the Board toward the schools and teaching conditions in the city. NTA stresses that the city power structure failed to indicate an interest in such conditions, the Board failed to negotiate in good faith, and that the state government failed to provide a mediator in the dispute, leaving no peaceful alternative to a strike.[43]

JUNE

15 A representational election is held to determine whether NTA or NTU will represent the city's teachers in contract negotiations with the Board. NTA wins over NTU, 1,534 to 1,481, with 37 voters favoring no representatives.[44]

MARCH

1 A hearing begins for teacher Eric M. Mann, an 8th grade teacher at Peshine Avenue School, who has been charged by the Board with violating a variety of regulations pertaining to approved curriculum procedures. The 24-year old white teacher used innovative techniques in developing reading skills and consequently came under criticism from some parents of his students as well as from fellow teachers and the principal of his school. After several days of hearings he is dismissed by the Board from his position.[48]

APRIL

1 Board President Ashby criticizes the Board for not hiring personnel to staff the Title I program as required. As a consequence, the City of Newark has had to return $1.9 million in federal funds to Washington. John Cervase, another member of the Board, insists that it was Washington's fault that the money had to be turned back.[49]

28 The Newark Human Relations Commission begins a study and evaluation of the Board in order to determine whether or not the Board discriminates against non-whites in hiring, promotions, and transfers, as it has often been accused of doing.[52]

JUNE

10 ONE states its opposition to the Board's announced intention to retire Arnold Hess as Secretary of the Board and hire him as a $26,000 a year consultant to the Board upon retirement. ONE also indicates it favors the hiring of Wilbur Parker, Newark Budget Director, as a replacement for Hess in the $25,000 a year position rather than Councilman James T. Callaghan, who is the choice of Mayor Addonizio. Parker is black and Callaghan is white.[53]

19 The Board ratifies a three-year "agreement" with NTA. The major points of agreement are:

1. The right of NTA to negotiate an agreement for the period succeeding the 1970 termination of the present agreement;

2. placement of all teachers on a single salary guide by February 1, 1968;

3. a four-step procedure for settling teacher grievances, culminating in binding arbitration in regard to issues of the "agreement" language and advisory arbitration on all other issues;

4. establishment of a pool of 100 substitute teachers to eliminate doubling of classes when teachers are absent;

5. introduction of at least 214 teacher aides to alleviate such non-teaching routine duties as lunchroom supervision, playground duty, bus duty, etc..

6. a guarantee that teachers will have access to all written evaluations submitted by supervisors on their teaching performance.[54]

24 Civil rights leaders announce they will lead large numbers of protesters to a hearing scheduled for June 25, to protest the expected appointment of City Councilman Callaghan as Secretary to the Board. A number of black educators are expected to be named to administrative positions in the school system in an effort to offset the expected charge of racism. Two civil rights leaders define the expected promotions as an inadequate pacification ploy.[57]

In response to charges from blacks that Callaghan is dramatically less qualified than Parker, Mayor Addonizio defends his choice of Callaghan by pointing out that Arnold Hess will only retire on condition that he be appointed as a consultant to the Board (at a salary of $26,000 a year) and would therefore be available to advise Callaghan as long as necessary.[58]

26 An 11-hour meeting marked by tension is held to discuss appointment of a successor to Arnold Hess. NTU takes a qualified stand in support of Wilbur Parker for the appointment.[61]

27 A Board meeting to decide upon the new Board Secretary is disrupted by a demonstration of 400 black people who take over the meeting as soon as it begins. Arnold Hess resolves the problem temporarily by agreeing to stay on as Board Secretary.[62]

13 The Board announces that churches, stores, and public housing projects may have to be used as public school classrooms in the fall in order to cope with a critical shortage of space in city schools. Board President Ashby and Superintendent Titus announce that the city has 10,000 less student seats than it has students.[65]

17 As the rebellion in Newark abates, the controversy over the naming of a successor to Arnold Hess as Secretary to the Board is called a contributing factor to the distrubance.[66]

22 The first year of using teacher aides in schools ends with 225 aides, drawn from local neighborhoods, receiving certificates of achievement. School systems throughout the country have been reported following Newark's lead in utilizing and training teacher aides.[55]

23 The Newark Committee for Better Schools, headed by Jack Mayers, recommends five people to Mayor Addonizio for board appointments. The Committee also proposes the establishment of criteria for the position of Secretary of the Board. This proposal reflects opposition to the appointment of Callaghan, who has a very limited education, and a preference for Parker who is a certified public accountant.[56]

25 The Industrial Community Council, a biracial group of businessmen concerned with improving job opportunities for blacks, indicates its preference for Wilbur Parker as Secretary to the Board.[59]

The Board announces the promotion of several black people to high administrative positions in the Newark school system. These include Assistant Superintendent in charge of Curriculum, Director of Secondary Education, Associate Assistant Superintendent supervising elementary education, and Coordinator of Community Relations for the Board. In addition to the blacks promoted, five whites are also promoted, including Sabby Addonizio, a brother of Mayor Addonizio, to Assistant Director of Recreation.

Several civil rights leaders say that they will bring thousands of citizens to the Board meeting on June 27 to oppose James Callaghan's appointment.[60]

JULY

29 Fred Means, former Chairman of the Newark-Essex Chapter of CORE and the current head of ONE calls on Mayor Addonizio to stop playing politics and see to it that Negroes are given a fair deal in hiring at all levels in the school system.[63]

12 A severe rebellion of blacks occurs in the Central Ward, involving looting, shooting, and general violent confrontations between police and residents of the area.[64]

SEPTEMBER

26 NTU appeals to the Board to establish a More Effective Schools program.[67]

1 Parents from overcrowded Peshine Avenue School plan a boycott, backed by Area Board No. 3 of the United Community Corporation.[68]

6 Attendance at Peshine Avenue School is cut by 80 per cent when a boycott is called. Both overcrowding and the possibility of split-sessions serving as a solution to the overcrowding are issues.[69]

13 Teachers at Madison Avenue School stage a one-day boycott against classes in objection to what they call parent intimidation, consisting of a sit-in at the school. Parents want students transferred out of the school and placed in less crowded schools.[70]

OCTOBER

10 Fights among students break out at Barringer High School. School Principal William R. Cain blames the difficulties on the intrusion of boys who are not students there. Police are called in and the school is closed.[74]

11 Nine students are injured and 13 are arrested in fights at Barringer High School. Boys throwing chairs in the cafeteria at lunch period touch off a melee which involves 700 students in the cafeteria and later spills out of the school and onto the street.[75]

2. a written report by the teacher should be presented to the principal with substantiating information on the behavior of the disruptive student;

3. an investigation should be conducted by the principal or acting official;

4. special facilities should be established in the schools for disruptive students and where no such facilities exist within a school, the principal should suspend the student;

5. parents and teachers should participate in a final decision of placement of the student;

6. the student should be referred to the assistant superintendent where a decision cannot be reached at the school level;

7. there should be established a panel consisting of a teacher, a parent and a third member selected by the superintendent to hear possible appeals of the assistant superintendent's decision on disruptive students.[77]

16 Approximately 70 percent of Barringer High School students boycott the school as a result of violence, including an incident involving a student striking a teacher, instrusions by non-students, and false fire alarms.[80]

17 Members of the Board and representatives of NTA meet to work out measures to stem the violence at Barringer High School, and thereby avert a threatened strike by school teachers at the school over conditions of violence. The conditions are now being reported as non-racial trouble, apparently stemming from outsiders coming into the schools. Teachers are threatening to walk out if greater security is not implemented at the school.[81]

26 The New Jersey Supreme Court refuses to waive probation for 27 teachers convicted of contempt of court in the 1966 strike. Chief Justice Weintraub says that because this was the second strike in a ten-week period probation was an appropriate action, and notes that the next time there is a strike in the city, people will be sent to jail.[71]

30 A group of South Seventeenth Street School parents vote to keep their children out of school if necessary rather than allow the children to board buses under a pupil transfer plan ordered by the Board.[72]

Officers of the Broadway Elementary School PTA oppose the busing of children into their area. They say they will do everything short of violence to stop the busing, because their schools do not have the room to accommodate students from outside the area.[73]

13 Newark police are brought to Barringer High School and the surrounding area to keep roaming groups of black and white students apart.

15 Following the disorders at Barringer High School, NTU President Rosenfeld proposes ways in which the schools could become safer. He wishes to have an agreement reached with the Board that would include the following procedural points:

1. disruptive students should be escorted to the principal's office and not be allowed back into the classroom until after they have consulted with both the principal and teachers;

NOVEMBER

19 The Board announces plans to revamp St. Joseph's School, a private parochial school in Newark, to accommodate an overflow of students at crowded Peshine Avenue School.[78]

15 Violence occurs again at Barringer High School.[79]

DECEMBER

19 A meeting of the Business and Industrial Coordinating Council, a businessmen's group in Newark, expresses grave concern for the graduates of Newark's schools. Members of the Council indicate that Newark high school graduates are generally unemployable because they have not mastered the basics of reading and writing, are often apathetic and do not have reliable habits of punctuality.[82]

12 Mayor Addonizio calls on city residents to bring pressure on the state and federal governments to help the city solve school problems. Newark is seeking to have its bonding capacity expanded so the city can borrow enough money to finance its $51,000,000 school building program. Once again, the 10,000 student seat shortage is used as the chief statistic to underscore a necessity for more money.[83]

DECEMBER 1967

14 ONE proposes that instead of giving written tests to substitutes who are seeking permanent status, such teachers receive state certification on the basis of 3-years experience and satisfactory ratings from their principals.[84] Board President Ashby opposes appointments without examinations.[85]

At a Board of School Estimate meeting, the Board is severely censured by a variety of organizational representatives. The Co-chairman of the Committee for Better Schools charges that the city never kept any of its promises regarding school construction. CORE calls such promises fraud. A spokesman for the Committee of Concern remarks that there is a general mistrust of elected officials in relation to education matters in Newark. The President of NTA says conditions in the Newark school system have driven 500 teachers to resign from the Newark system over the past six months.[86]

1968

FEBRUARY

The Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder releases a report on the July 1967 rebellion in Newark. The report pronounces the Newark School System in a state of crisis and declares that administration of the system should be assumed by the State.[87] This assessment and proposal follows a detailed description of the school system's failures, ranging from an inadequate physical plant through a high school dropout rate of 33 per cent and the production of illiteracy among half of the students who complete high school.[88]

6 A controversy is aroused over the appointment of Imamu Amiri Baraka (Le Roi Jones) as Chairman of the Title I Advisory Committee of the Robert Treat School. Head of the Title I Program, Charles Haynes, defended the appointment on the grounds that Baraka is an interested resident of the area.[89]

20 The Focus on Newark Committee, headed by The Reverend Mr. William Hedgepeth, meets with Franklyn Titus and proposes that the Board make appointments to supervisory positions based on experience rather than on examinations.[92]

25 In an article on Newark schools, a Newark newspaper reports the following:

1. one-third of Newark teachers are substitutes;

2. between 60 and 70 per cent of Newark teachers live outside the city, including black teachers, who comprise about 25 per cent of the total; teachers seeking positions tend to shy away from the Newark school system; parents of students in teachers' colleges object to having their sons and daughters practice-teach in Newark schools.[93]

APRIL

20 Following a fire that swept through several square blocks of the Central Ward in Newark, it is announced that the Avon Avenue School, damaged in the fire, would remain open despite its damage.[96]

25 Governor Hughes recommends that the state take over administration of the Newark school system for five years. This could happen if both the Board and the city administration agree to his proposal, and if the New Jersey Legislature provides enough money (approximately $35,000,000) to finance the undertaking. Hughes says that Newark's crisis is a result of the overwhelming change in the city's population, primarily the influx of large numbers of blacks from depressed areas of the South since the end of World War II. He adds that

MARCH

7 The Board investigates the appointment of Baraka to the Title I Advisory Committee. Central High School Principal Angell states that when the Afro-American Club of his school invited Sylvia Wilson Jones to speak her husband Baraka came in her place, gave an inflamatory speech and distributed pamphlets calling for black revolution.[90]

19 Acting superintendent Titus proposes a volunteer citizens' corps to assist in schools as teacher aides, as library aides and cafeteria aides.[91]

27 CORE challenges the Board on recent appointments made by the Board, including that of Sabby Addonizio to the position of Coordinator of Recreation and School Athletics. CORE Chairman James Hooper says that a black employee of the city's recreation department was more highly qualified than Addonizio and should have received the appointment. CORE says that they will seek a court injunction against the promotions.[94]

30 At a 2-day community conference on Newark's problems, a Newark teacher suggests that a takeover of the city's school system by the State of New Jersey would be "our only hope." It is a general consensus of the conference that the Newark School system should be turned over to the state, and the Board should be turned out of office.[95]

the transfer of administration to the state would not guarantee the improvement in the schools that is greatly needed in Newark.[97]

The Director of the Newark Bureau of Attendance reports that incidents of violence and damage in schools occurring since September of 1967 include 84 assaults in the schools by pupils against pupils, 21 assaults and batteries, 4 assaults against teachers by pupils, and 1,000 instances of vandalism or damaged buildings.[98]

28 Members of the Board express varied opinions on the proposal that the state take over the city's schools. All are in agreement that the major problem is one of more money rather than administration. They add that they are at the borrowing limit and need 12 schools costing $51,000,000, which they do not have and see no way of acquiring.[99]

29 Reacting to the proposal of the state taking over the Newark school system, NTU indicates that it would approve of more money being provided for the schools, but might reject the proposed administrative takeover by the State.[100]

MAY

9 Two hundred fifty Vailsburg High School students walk out of school in protest over the suspension of five students for fighting. A series of racial confrontations beginning at a dance culminated in a firebomb thrown into the school guidance office, destroying papers, books and files.[101]

15 For the third day in a row large numbers of black students protesting a lack of protection for blacks at Vailsburg High School walk out of schools and stage protest marches through sections of the city. Vailsburg High is the only school in the city where students do not walk out.

At a meeting of students Imamu Amiri Baraka (Le Roi Jones) encourages the black students to boycott all schools on May 17, the birthday of Malcolm X.

John Cervase, a member of the Board, announces his opposition to the boycott and to the formation of a black student council, on the grounds that such a council would tend to divide students and encourage the formation of racial groupings in the schools.[104]

18 Alvin Hanks, Weequahic High School junior and Chairman of the Black Student Council, says the boycott of Newark high schools would continue until his group's "demands, not requests" are met. The group wants greater police protection in the vicinity of Vailsburg High School where blacks are being threatened by whites; the group also demands the inclusion of Negro history, Swahili, Karate and other courses in the curriculum. One thousand and three hundred students meet at the Sussex Avenue Armory to discuss issues. All adults are barred from the students' meeting, except Baraka, who is invited to address the audience.[107]

22 Dr. Benjamin Epstein, Assistant Superintendent of schools in Newark, criticizes the state colleges for their lack of assistance to the city. He points out that a number of State College students scheduled to practice-teach in Newark cancelled their plans after the rebellion occurred in 1967. He proposes that all professors and instructors at the colleges work as substitute teachers in Newark one or two days a week; that each college set up a task force to deal with problems in education in central cities; that research activities at the colleges be almost exclusively devoted to studies of educating ghetto

JUNE

11 A Board hearing, held at Newark City Hall to discuss the proposed state takeover of the Newark school system, generates a great deal of criticism of the proposal. In the course of the meeting, Board President Dr. Harold Ashby asks where the leaders of the city's PTA s are. Strong opposition to the proposal comes from NTA, the Association of Directors and Supervisors of Instruction, and the NJEA. The American Civil Liberties Union and the Newark-Essex Chapter of CORE, represented by Kenneth Gibson and Robert Curvin, favor the takeover. Anthony Imperiale calls the state's plan a governor's dictatorship. State Commissioner of Education Carl Marburger speaks in favor of the move but cautions that until new funds came into the picture the state could not do much better than the city was already doing with the Newark school system. There has been no effort made by the legislature to implement Governor Hughes' suggestion.[110]

11 At a Board meeting Titus announces that 20 truant officers will be placed in Vailsburg High School with police officers on call. Several neighborhood people have demanded that Anthony Imperiale be charged with inciting to riot for giving inflamatory speeches at the school. The police refuse to arrest Imperiale.[102]

14 Approximately 2,000 people at Vailsburg High School hear Anthony Imperiale indict the Board for failing to give adequate protection to the students of the school. He suggests that the Board is making too big a fuss over the violence that has occured in the schools, since the city has tolerated violence by other people in the city streets. He also reads a letter, allegedly written by the mother of a Board administrator, charging the Board with using money to promote Negro racism at the expense of Newark school children. Imperiale accuses the Board of replacing white principals who had been scheduled for this year's summer school session and other programs with Negroes who had no experience as administrators.[103]

16 Teachers at several high schools in the city call upon the Board to provide greater security forces in the schools. They also complain that their professional status is being threatened because they have been charged with dereliction of duties but not given private hearings. As a result of these demands by teachers and the student boycotts of schools, Barringer High School and Weequahic High School are closed early.[105]

17 Franklyn Titus says that he will call the police whenever necessary to maintain order in the schools. He also announces his opposition to the formation of any discriminatory student group, referring to the recently formed Black Student Council that called for a 3-day boycott of schools.[106]

children and to problems of urban proverty; that the colleges make a greater effort to attract students from the city. He is particularly critical of students from Newark State College who have cancelled their plans to practice-teach in Newark.[108]

28 The Board reportedly suspends the promotions list and proceeds to make appointments to positions of principal and assistant principal on the basis of criteria other than scores received on examinations.[109]

20 The Executive Board of ONE votes to oppose the state takeover of the school system because it would represent a shift in control to the state during a period in which minority people will be assuming an increasing degree of power in Newark. The organization characterizes the State Board of Education record as inadequate in terms of its concern with the cities.[111]

26 The Board signs an agreement to establish an experimental community school located at Springfield and Eighteenth Avenues, with 17 day care classes, 10 classes for students in kindergarten, first and second grades. The school, to be operated jointly by the Board and the Newark Day Care Council, will be a community oriented school, in which the community will play a significant role.[112]

JULY

7 The Board is extremely annoyed with reports by Dr. Maurice Hillson of Rutgers University of Camden Street School Project, which he directed. In his reports Dr. Hillson criticized Newark teachers as both inept and anti-intellectual. Residents of the Central Ward community and teachers reportedly have backed Hillson's findings.[113]

23 Controversy is arising over the renovation of the Wilderrotter Store for use as an experimental community school. The cost of renovation has quadrupled since the Board approved the idea in December, 1967, and the final cost may reach as high as $500,000.[114]

13 After City Councilman West announces that the City Council authorized $500,000 for security guards to be placed in the city schools the Patrolmen Benevolent's Association of Newark asserts that the money should be used to pay salary increases.[118]

22 The Board appoints ten blacks as acting principals and vice-principals in elementary, junior and senior high schools where previously there had been only one. The Board abolishes the system of written and oral examination for promotion of administrators. The appointment of principals will henceforth be based upon minimal state requirements which are 5 year's teaching experience within Newark or 10 years' teaching experience outside Newark for appointment to a principal position, and 3 years experience in Newark for appointment to a vice-principal position. The plan was determined by the Board in consultation with NTA; it is to be re-evaluated in five years.

29 An organization of Newark citizens, calling itself The Committee for Better Education, meets to plan a protest over the split sessions occurring throughout the city.[121]

SEPTEMBER

20 Candidate Santoro for councilman-at-large in Newark condemns the Board for promoting 10 black teachers to administrative positions without competitive examination. He says, "the Board's action is a clear violation of due process, the sanctity of contract and the civil rights of the promotional candidates involved." He emphasises that there were legitimate vacancies that existed and should have been filled by persons who had passed the Board's own examination procedure, rather than by persons selected by a method clearly not impartial.[122]

NOVEMBER

17 Newark PTA President Jesse Jacob describes his role as that of keeping the PTA from becoming more militant than it already is; he hopes that the PTA will offer no interference to the Board.[125]

AUGUST

8 The Board prepares to scrap the examination procedure for principals.[115] Both NTA and NTU, although they have criticized the Board for not having black principals, express concern over the protection of currently qualified candidates.[116]

The City Council refuses to approve a $325,000 emergency allocation to meet the cost of refurbishing the Wilderrotter Store for the new community school. The Board, having approved the project as did the Board of School Estimate, must now contemplate paying for the school with other funds.[117]

A group of teachers who had passed the examination and were in line for promotion have brought a suit before the State Department of Education to have the appointments rescinded and themselves appointed to the positions.

The Board agrees to establish at South Market Street School a special facility to handle suspended and disruptive students. The school will be staffed by special teachers who will instruct socially maladiusted pupils.[119]

26 Ten white Newark teachers who were passed over when the Board promoted ten blacks to administrative positions file a suit against the Newark Board in Federal Court, asking $500,000 damages each for deprivation of their constitutional rights. The teachers ask for a preliminary injunction to bar the Board's appointments, and charge that the Board's action violates the agreement signed with NTA in 1967. They cite a paragraph which reads "the position of principal, vice-principal, head teacher, department chairman, and counselor shall be filled in order of numerical ranking from the approved list, which rankings shall be determined by written and oral examinations."[120]

21 The President of ONE says that many black educators should return to college and acquire additional degrees and certification for supervisory and administrative positions.[123]

OCTOBER

23 The Board announces that the Newark school system will embark upon a program of partial decentralization as soon as it can fill five assistant superintendent positions. The partial decentralization plan, which will stop short of community control, will establish five districts containing eight to twelve elementary schools. The Board observes that the kind of decentralization developing in New York is not possible in Newark because state statutes require that the schools be maintained under supervision of the Board.[124]

1969

JANUARY

15 In a Board hearing held to discuss its decentralization plan, Anthony Imperiale, Frank Addonizio and Lee Bernstein contend that it would constitute community control, despite the Board's insistence that it would not.[126]

23 Approximately 600 of the 700 students at the South Tenth Street School boycott classes. Parents are leading the boycott to force the removal of Principal Marion Smith, who they claim has physically mistreated the children. The parents, all of whom are black, insist that they are not demanding a non-white principal.[127]

are attempting to "get rid of white principals and replace them with blacks."

Harold Hodes, Executive Director of the Newark Civil Rights Commission, questions whether Cervase should be reappointed to the Board when his term expires. He claims that the South Tenth Street situation has no racial overtones and charges Cervase with attempting to polarize Newark even more than it is already polarized.[129]

31 The third day of a student boycott of South Street School is 100 per cent effective.[130]

MARCH

1 President of ONE Fred Means, addressing 200 people at the "Newark Urban Conference," says that community control of the school system in Newark is inevitable.

The conference participants propose that students play a larger role in the Newark school system, a response to demands by representatives of Newark Student Union (composed of high school students) that students participate in decisions.[133]

6 It is reported that the promotion controversy had almost been resolved in 1968 when the negotiating team of NTA agreed with the Board to allow the list to be suspended so that blacks could be appointed. This agreement was reportedly aborted when NTA President Limongello opposed dropping the lists. Limongelo had, himself, passed the written examination and expected to be promoted. After NTA's negotiation committee reached the agreement

MAY

25 Councilman Addonizio proposes removing the Board from appointive to elective status as a means of solving conflicts that have occurred between the City Council and the Board. He claims that conflicts have arisen because the Board refuses to provide detailed information to the City Council.[136]

JUNE

1 A variety of parents' groups approach Mayor Addonizio encouraging him to create a position for Samuel Matarazzo, who wants to be promoted to the position of assistant superintendent in charge of federal funding. He claims he can do a better job at a higher level than in his current position of Director of Federal Projects. There is opposition to his proposal among Board members and by the Education Committee of the NAACP, ONE, and the Newark-Essex Chapter of CORE.[137]

28 The Board approves plans to create a special high school within South Side High School. The school, designed to serve 500 students within 4 years, would draw students from all the elementary and junior high schools in the city on the basis of academic performance. The purpose of the school is to provide additional stimulation and facilities to encourage academic excellence among ghetto children. 128

29 A boycott of South Street Elementary School dramatizes efforts of parents to retain their Vice-Principal, Harry Morsch, who was transferred to South Tenth Street School to replace Principal Marion Smith. This has led to an exchange within the Board: Board member Garrett favors promoting Morsch to fulltime principal of South Street School; John Cervase objects to the removal of the South Tenth Street principal on the grounds that she had long experience. Cervase also charges that blacks

FEBRUARY

26 The Board hires 131 guards to be placed in schools throughout the city to combat vandalism and violence.131

27 The state's first public community school is dedicated as the Springfield Avenue Community School. The new school is lauded by Jules Sugarman, Associate Director of the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, as a pioneering experiment without parallel in the United States. Members of the Board, including the school's chief opponent, John Cervase, join in praising the venture.132

with the Board, Limongello solicited support for his position from the delegate assembly of NTA and the decision of the negotiating committee was overturned. The dispute has reportedly caused a deep split in the leadership of NTA.134

APRIL

9 A study by the Board of the racial composition of students in Newark schools indicates that while the school population is 73 per cent black as of 1968, Vailsburg and East Side High Schools are over 80 per cent white, and a number of elementary schools contain as high a proportion of white students as 94 per cent, indicating dramatic segregation in Newark school system.135

31 The New Jersey Public Employees Relations Commission tells the Board that they cannot use a lack of resources as an excuse for an inadequate school budget. The state body proposes that Newark establish a reasonable salary range for teachers independent of monetary considerations. It further proposes that a commission investigate the city's budgetary procedures to find areas from which money could be transferred to education. These suggestions are contained in a set of recommendations by New York labor mediator Theodore Kheel, who warns that if these proposals are not taken seriously, the city faces a very serious teachers' strike at the beginning of the year.138

AUGUST

14 Chief Judge Augelli, of the Federal District Court, rules against ten white teacher plaintiffs who were at the top of the list for promotion to principal positions in Newark. They had brought suit against the Board on the grounds that they were discriminated against because of race. Augelli states that while race was a factor in the appointment, the appointments were directed toward improving a school system serving primarily black students. The judge further states that because no policy was established that only black teachers would be considered for such positions, the decision involving the teachers' appointments could be interpreted to rep-

resent the Board's best judgement of who was best qualified for the positions at that particular time. The judge's ruling reinforces the position taken by the State Department of Education in April.[139]

24 A new crisis arises in the Newark school system when State Commissioner of Education Marburger announces a threat to cut off further funds for Newark unless the city provide an accounting of how it spent $13,000,000 in federal funds. Marburger charges that the City of Newark has violated many of the rules and regulations pertaining to the funds and until these are rectified and full reports are forwarded to him, Newark will be funded on a month-to-month basis, continuing only as long as monthly reports are presented.[140]

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the negative coverage the board and the committee have received. Jacob Fox, former Counsel to the Board, has also been hired by the committee to serve as research director.[143]

10 Parents are keeping their children out of Bergen Street School for the third day in protest of split sessions.[144]

Matarazzo take no further action without clearance from the Deputy Superintendent of Schools. The report contains no accusations of misappropriation or any other illegal activity, only ineptness.[146]

20 Following the report of the Board committee there are calls for the immediate dismissal of Arnold Hess as Secretary of the Board.[147]

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22 The result of an NTA poll to determine whether the teachers will go on strike is 1,100 to 900 in favor. Michael Limongello says he would refuse to lead a strike and offers his resignation, which is immediately accepted. NTA members ask Peter Paglia, who was the head of the strike strategy committee in 1966, to assume leadership. The Board of School Estimate has rejected a $700 across-the-board increase in teachers' pay agreed to by the Board on the recommendation of mediator Theodore Kheel.[150]

28 Large numbers of parents demonstrate at a Board meeting, demanding better education for their children in general and completion of modifications at the former Chancellor Avenue YMHA in particular. They threaten a school boycott if modifications of the building are not completed soon and the building opened as a new classroom facility.[151]

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25 Board Secretary Hess defends the accounting of expenditures from federal funds. He claims the city had acquired from the state the right to carry money over fro. one fiscal year to the next, but the state is now calling this practice a violation of the federal guidelines.[141] The Board names three of its members to a committee to investigate the record keeping practices involving federal funds.[142]

SEPTEMBER

4 The committee set up by the Newark Board to investigate the spending of Title I and Title II funds hires a public relations firm, William G. Heatherington and Company, to assist it. Board President Ashby criticizes the committee's action and requests an explanation for the hiring of a firm concerned with image manipulation when the issue at hand is accounting procedures. A committee member replies that the public relations firm was hired to channel reports to the press to counteract

12 After the hiring of a public relations firm results in further controversy, the special committee investigating the spending of federal funds releases the firm from its contract with the Board.[145]

17 The Board committee investigating accounting procedures places most of the blame for failure to file appropriate reports on Arnold Hess. Hess claims that he is being used as a scapegoat, attributing this to special counsel Fox. The committee also concludes that Matarazzo is inept and not qualified for the job of Director of Federal Projects. It suggests that his office be reorganized and that

OCTOBER

9 Several hundred parents attending a Board meeting demand immediate relief of overcrowding in the schools and the racial integration of all construction crews working on new schools.[148]

12 NTA calls a meeting to take a strike vote. Two hundred of Newark's 3,400 teachers attend the meeting, chaired by the Vice-President of NTA. The meeting disintegrates into controversy over the question of what action should be taken following NTA's failure to get a new contract from the Board for the 1969-1970 school year. NTA President Limongello has temporarily stepped down.[149]

NOVEMBER

6 John Cervase and Dr. E. Wyman Garrett, members of the Board, charge each other with racism in the hiring of school athletic coaches. Cervase claims that Garrett forced the Superintendent of Schools to refuse to consider a white man as a high school coach. Garrett says that Cervase did not know anything about the man in question and that Cervase was promulgating a situation where games could be held in Newark and the only white people in attendance would be the two coaches and two referees.[152]

8 The Superior Court's Appellate Division upholds the Board's right to suspend the promotional list for principals and to make appointments as they see fit. The decision, by Judge Arthur W. Lewis, states that the Board's action was the best interest of the children served by the school system.[153]

NOVEMBER 1969

9 The Newark City Council refuses to appropriate $500,000 requested by the Board. A spokesman for the council explains that after the council had cut the Board's budget, the Board went on to spend the money as though it had not been cut, and then came back for emergency funds.[154]

19 A representational election is held to determine which teacher's organization will represent the teachers of Newark. NTU wins the vote by a margin of 4 to 1 over NTA. The NTU leadership announces after the vote that its stance in leading the teachers will be more militant than that of the NTA. This is apparently in reference to the fact that NTA took no action after the Board of School Estimate rejected their pay raise proposal.

handling of federal funds. Hess in turn refuses to respond to what he calls a loaded question. NAACP official Brodie says she went to Trenton to appeal for funds to educate poor children and discovered that the Urban Aid was indeed voted for the cities, but is being spent on police and fire salaries rather than on education facilities.[156]

10 In response to community requests for the replacement of the white principal and vice-principal at Robert Treat School with a black principal and vice-principal, the Board proposes an "ethnically balanced" appointment of a black principal and a white vice-principal. Community spokesmen object on the grounds that schools in other parts of the city are not so integrated.[157]

stitute," a requirement for new teachers to take proficiency examinations in their area of specialization, the elimination of common examinations for all new teachers, leaves without loss of seniority for anyone going into the military, a requirement that the Board would have to show cause in the firing of a non-tenured teacher, a setting of maximum class size at 18, two weeks paid honeymoon for newly married teachers, paid legal counsel for any teacher who has charges brought against him, sabbatical leaves after five years, full payment for contact lenses, implementation of data processing equipment for most paper work in schools, preparation periods for teachers and 10 More Effective Schools in September, and an additional 10 by 1971.[159]

1970

JANUARY

15 NTU votes that if a contract is not signed by February 2, they will go on strike.[160]

28 The Essex-West Hudson Labor Council of the AFL-CIO announces its support of NTU in its negotiations with the Board. ONE urges its members to support the community's desires, reject the strike proposal, report to work as usual, send their children to school as usual, and to come to school themselves to help in the classrooms in the event of a strike. ONE President Fred Means says his organization is not supporting the strike proposal because the teachers themselves do not know why they are intending to strike; and that the real issues are money and power. Haywood Miller, head of NTA, criticizes NTU for failing to keep other teachers' groups informed of its negotiations with the Board. Dr. Harold Ashby, Board President, calls the criticism unwarranted since NTA also attempted to keep negotiations secret when it represented the teachers.[161]

ONE President Fred Means says the votes received by his organization indicated a disposition for the teachers and community to work together. ONE received 15 per cent of the votes while black teachers comprise 25 per cent of the total number of teachers in the city.[155]

DECEMBER

2 At the monthly meeting of the Business and Industrial Coordinating Council, Franklyn Titus and Arnold Hess speak about problems they face in administering the school system, particularly the lack of money to replace obsolete buildings. David Barrett of the Committee for a Unified Newark asks Board Secretary Hess why he insists upon a $26,000 a [illegible]nsultantship with the Board as a condition for retirement when the Board's own committee has called him less than competent in the

23 In response to community demands, the Board appoints Eugene Campbell, Acting Principal of the Robert Treat School, and Robert Reed, Acting Vice-Principal of the school. The Board abolishes the position of Director of Federal Projects that had been held by Samuel Matarazzo, who will now return to normal teaching duties.[158]

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31 NTU presents the Board of 130 page package of contract demands that would cost a total of $25,000,000. It includes a $10,000 starting salary, increased medical benefits, improved grievance procedures, NTU participation in the hiring and retention of administrators, and a $2,000 across-the-board raise, retroactive to September. Other provisions include full salary for practice-teachers, a 60 per cent deduction in the work load for teacher-interns, elimination of the classification "permanent sub-

30 In commenting on the potential strike by NTU, Board member John Cervase says everything possible must be done to avert the strike and the possible confrontation. A spokesman for NTU claims that parents will support the teachers if they strike because teacher aides from the community would persuade the community of NTU's position. Haywood Miller, President of NTA, announces that his organization is not taking a position on the strike and advises its members to decide for themselves whether they wish to join the strike or cross the picket line.[162]

FEBRUARY

1 The Board secures an injunction against the strike from Superior Court Judge Ward J. Herbert. The Board also adopts a budget for 1970-1971 including a $1,300 across-the-board increase, instead of the $2,000 increase demanded by NTU. The NTU negotiators walk out of negotiation meetings. The Superior Court injunction order names eleven NTU officials who are restrained from striking and must appear in court by February 13, to show cause why the injunction should not become permanent.

163

2 NTU commences a strike against the Board. On order from Franklyn Titus, 28 of the city's 84 schools are closed. At Robert Treat School, Imamu Amiri Baraka and some of his followers reportedly scuffle with people on the picket line. The mostly black teachers who report to Robert Treat School are assisted by approximately 25 black students from the Black Organization of Students of Rutgers and Seton Hall Universities.

John D. Petrozzino, President of Teachers' Organization for Peaceful Schools, says his organization supports the strike and calls on the Board to close the schools. The People's Council, a group of striking students and teachers at Essex County college, volunteer to enter Newark schools and teach, to help establish a "progressive education program." 164

4 Faced with an impasse in negotiations, NTU requests a negotiator from the State. The chief negotiator for the Board voices his growing conviction that NTU wanted a strike as an end of itself, for dramatic reasons.169

5 NTU officers Carole Graves, Frank Fiorito, and Donald Nicholas are served with arrest orders signed by Judge Ward J. Herbert, at the request of Victor A. De Filippo, Counsel to the Board. They are charged with contempt of the court injunction against the strike.

Theodore Kheel and Lewis Kaden are appointed mediators by the state and are accepted by both the Board and NTU. NTU announces, however, that it will not negotiate if its members are in jail.

Precise figures on student attendance are not released but it is reported that the majority of the system's students stayed away from schools.170

Ramon Rivera of the Young Lords states that his people are there at the request of the community and will leave when asked to by the community.171

The Board is reportedly seeking more teachers' arrests, taking the stance that the Board is obligated to bring violations of the Superior Court's injunction to the Court's attention.

When an impasse is reached Mediator Lewis Kaden leaves Newark saying he sees no point in further negotiations. NTU representatives reportedly walk out of negotiations when they learn that two more union officials were arrested.

Classes are either dismissed or severely curtailed in seven Newark schools including Weequahic High School and Seventh Avenue Junior High School.

Superior Court Judge Ward J. Herbert orders the Essex County Prosecutor's office to gather information on all individuals who are violating his injunction, the prerequisite to possible mass arrests. Judge Herbert emphasizes that this action is being taken at his own initiative and not at the request of the Board.174

8 At a rally of striking teachers, civil rights activist Bayard Rustin advises the teachers to widen their picketing and other strike activities.

Fred Means, President of ONE, and the Reverend Mr. Henry Cade, Chairman of the Community Coalition, a citizens' group, are denied permission to speak at the NTU rally. Means reportedly has sent a letter to the President of Newark State College, in which he claims that Newark State

Governor William Cahill declares his opposition to teacher strikes and his interest in new legislation to curb such strikes.[165] State Commissioner of Education Carl Marburger refers to the strike as an unfortunate occurrence and regrets that there is very little he is able to do about it.[166]

3 NTU and the Board enter into negotiations with NTU President Carole Graves stressing that money does not represent the NTU's major demand, and that NTU is in conflict only with the Board and not the community.[167]

An NTU representative accuses Fred Means, President of ONE, of taking a self-serving stand on the strike. Mrs. Elaine Brodie of the NAACP states her opposition to the strike as do the "Concerned Parents of the Chancellor Avenue School."[168]

6 Striking teachers and City Councilman Anthony Imperiale's followers go to McKinley School to remove black and Puerto Rican volunteers who are trying to keep the school open. Among the people involved in Imperiale's group are Anthony Couzzi, North Ward Republican Chairman, and John Petrozzino, President of the Teachers' Organization for Peaceful Schools. They object to the presence of Young Lords, a Puerto Rican organization, in the school. Couzzi says the Lords are outsiders and should be removed by the North Ward Community if not by school officials.

A leader of the volunteer group, the Reverend Mr. Herbert G. Draesel of the Episcopal House of Prayer, accuses the school principal, Sol Guritzky, of not cooperating with the community. Guritzky replies that the volunteers simply walked in and took over the classroom, bypassing him. Among the groups in the school besides the Young Lords are the United Brothers, a black civic group, black students from Essex County College, the Black Organization of Students of Rutgers University, and McKinley School's own Model Cities Planning Committee.

Governor Cahill calls an immediate return to work is essential and notes that he and the legislative leaders of both parties have reached consensus on legal and legislative action if the strike continues.[172]

7 Governor Cahill and Commissioner Marburger are reportedly studying the possibility of suspending the certification of striking teachers. The State Department of Education has received a number of reports from non-striking teachers of slashed tires, broken car aerials and threatening phone calls at home. Approximately one-fourth of the city's teachers are reporting to work.[173]

students volunteering in Newark schools are being intimidated by persons in authority at the college.

J. Jerome Schlosser, President of the Secondary School Chairmen of Newark, expresses his opposition to the Board's harassment and vindictive arrests, while not denying that the strike is illegal.[175]

Talks between the Board and NTU are adjourned, to be resumed on February 10. Issues reportedly separating the two sides at this point include NTU demands of daily preparation periods for elementary teachers, reduced class size, pilot schools based on the More Effective Schools plan and guaranteed grievance procedures.[176]

The Reverend Mr. Henry Cade, on behalf of the Community Coalition, asks the Governor to intervene in the strike. The Coalition includes representatives from NAACP, the Newark PTA, the Committee for a Unified Newark, the Metropolitan Ecumenical Ministery, the Urban League, a number of Spanish speaking groups and parent groups.[177]

9 Judge Herbert of the Superior Court orders NTU to show cause on February 16 why it itself should not be held in contempt of court. He also orders NTU to bring all money collected at rallies and it books and financial records showing income expenditures since January 31 to the Essex County Sheriff.[178]

10 The Board votes to hold pay checks to striking teachers and to rescind leaves of absence to teachers on the NTU negotiating team until negotiations are resumed. Lewis Kaden, negotiator, formulates suggestions on specific issues which he presents to both sides. Dr. Michael Petti, the Board's chief negotiator, suggests that the action exceeded Kaden's assignment. The Board also suspends its own rules pertaining to teacher absences and requires teachers absent for even one day to present a doctor's certificate indicating that they were ill.[179]

11 Sheriff's deputies go to 84 schools in the city where there are pickets and read the Superior Court injunction, ask the teachers picketing to disperse, and arrest those who refuse. A total of 16 teachers are thereby arrested for picketing. [183]

The Community Legal Action Workshop of the Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey issues a statement that Police Director Dominic A. Spina's action in ordering volunteers out of McKinley School on February 6 smacks of police state tactics and is a usurpation of the Board's prerogatives.[184]

Charles Marciante of the New Jersey AFL-CIO arranges informal talks between the Board and NTU involving Board negotiator Jacob Fox and American Federation of Teachers negotiator Robert Bates. The talks break down shortly thereafter.[185]

15 NTU maintains it will not reopen negotiations until the Board petitions the Superior Court to withdraw arrest orders. The Board replies that they have nothing to do with the arrests, which are completely in the hands of the Essex County Prosecutor's office and Judge Herbert.

Jerome Schlosser, President of the Secondary School Chairmen, criticizes what he says is a Board proposal that teachers be evaluated in terms of student performance rather than on the basis of evaluations made by supervisors and administrators.

Mayoral candidate John J. Caufield urges both sides to negotiate, stressing that the schools belong neither to NTU nor the Board, but to the children.

The Reverend Mr. William E. Hedgepeth, head of Focus on Newark, declares it wrong to arrest peaceful pickets and calls for a city-wide election of community representatives to participate in the negotiations. The NewArk Community Coalition responds that such an election would not be necessary because they already represent the com-

The Newark Chapter of NAACP calls on Newark community to oppose the strike. A spokesman of ONE states that meeting the NTU demands would give NTU substantial control over education in Newark.[190]

17 Negotiations begin and continue through the night, with Mayor Addonizio sitting in as an observer. Nevertheless, 29 teachers are arrested, in this case without being warned of the illegality of their action. Superior Court Judge Mintz postpones the hearing for seven NTU leaders arrested earlier in the strike. Governor Cahill says that he has no plans to do anything about the strike situation right now.

David Selden, President of the American Federation of Teachers, predicts that the strike will last at least a month, and announces that the AFT will collect money nationally to support the teachers.[180]

Anthony Imperiale calls for a hands-off approach by people outside the school system, iest militants take over the schools.[181]

Charles Marciante, Secretary Treasurer of New Jersey AFL-CIO, calls upon the New Jersey Public Employees Relations Commission to seek a court injunction requiring the Board to negotiate in good faith. He particularly singles out special counsel Jacob Fox for criticism, on the grounds that at $50 an hour Fox is not likely to rush to a solution.[182]

12 The Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey accuses the Board of union busting.[186]

13 A total of 43 people are arrested for picketing, including teachers and sympathizers from other unions in the AFL-CIO. Larry Birchette, NTU negotiator, says NTU cannot negotiate in an atmosphere of intimidation and harassment.[187]

munity. Larry Birchette, of NTU, voices doubt that the NewArk group represents the whole community and praises the election and community participation proposal.[188]

Sheriff's deputies make no arrest, reportedly because the few pickets present disperse promptly. Talks have not resumed. Albert Shanker, of New York's UFT, and Bayard Rustin both urge NTU to carry on with the strike.

NTU announces that it is setting up a tutorial program from 3 to 6 p.m. in an effort to redress the community's grievances.

An NTU official announces that interest free loans will be available to striking teachers with the AFT paying the interest and that a job placement office will help striking teachers locate temporary jobs.

At a Board of School Estimate meeting Mayor Addonizio and Councilman Turco vote to cut the Board budget for the next year by $16.4 million from the Board's requested $79,000,000. Board members Garrett and Churchman vote against the cut; the fifth member, Imperiale, abstains.

The stumbling blocks in the negotiations at this point are reported to be complusory arbitration, an NTU demand, and teacher accountability, a Board demand.[191]

18 Thirty-six more teachers are arrested, making a total of 131 teachers charged with violation of the anti-strike injunction. Among those arrested today is David Selden, President of the AFT. NTU negotiator Birchett says that the Board has reneged on a "gentlemen's agreement" to make no further arrests. Harry Wheeler, mayoral candidate, urges the Board to stop the arrests. About 75 students led by the Weequahic High School-based "Students for Better Education" meet to state their neutrality in the dispute and to condemn all parties in the strike for using students as pawns.[192]

At a Board of School Estimate meeting Anthony Imperiale joins with Addonizio and Turco to vote for a slash of $15,000,000 in the school budget. The Board responds by instructing their attorney to take any legal action necessary to compel the Board of School Estimate to replace the money. Mayor Addonizio maintains that the State will have to come up with the rest of the money.[193]

19 Forty-six more teachers are arrested. Talks are at a standstill, but the mayor says he is optimistic. A group of students identifying themselves as members of Students for Better Education walk into the Board offices and commence a sit-in.[194]

At a court hearing for arrested teachers before Judge Mintz, the NTU lawyer raises the issue of the court's jurisdiction. Judge Mintz reiterates that the court is under no pressure from the Board, and is issuing arrest orders in terms of the violation of a court order.[195]

A joint statement by negotiators Kheel and Kaden describes the strong court action taken against teachers as jeopardizing the delicate negotiations and suggests a moratorium on arrests.[200]

About 1,000 teachers march to the Board building where they are met by high school students conducting a sit-in. The teachers decide not to hold the rally they had planned and leave.[201]

The Essex County Urban League pledges its support to parent groups in an effort to keep the schools open during the strike.[202]

20 A group of 36 students, representing the Students for Better Schools group, are removed from the Board offices by police after they cannot be dissuaded from barricading the hallway. No charges are filed against the students at the request of the Board.[203] A Puerto Rican group, ASPIRA Incorporated of New Jersey, expresses concern that Puerto Rican students are being used as pawns by the Board, school administrators, and the teachers. ASPIRA condemns the school system as racist, calling for meaningful community participation.[204]

24 At a large rally to City Hall, at least half of the marchers are brought in by the New Jersey AFL-CIO to support the Newark teachers.[207]

The Newark Community Coalition announces that it is renting two rooms in the Robert Treat Hotel and understands it will receive continual reports on the negotiations from mediator Lewis Kaden.[208]

Judge Mintz fines NTU $40,000 for leading a strike.[209]

25 AFT President David Selden posts bond and and is released from jail.[210]

About 70 per cent of Newark teachers stay out of the schools.

Very late in the evening, the teachers vote to accept the contract under negotiation and return to classes.[212]

Among the major points reached in the agreement are:

27 The Board approves the contract in a hearing marked by threats of repercussions from community leaders, cheered on by 500 spectators at the Board meeting.

Assistant Superintendent of Secondary Education Epstein announces that there are 13 points of disagreement between the Board and NTU not in the contract.[215]

Eugene Campbell of the Newark Community Coalition states that "we are determined to have self determination" and that he was "sure the Board remembered 1967 and the situation that led to 1967, one which involved the Board of Education." Jesse Jacob says NTU had participated in discriminatory negotiations by not allowing the community to participate; he dares the Board to implement the contract. David Barrett presents to Dr. Harold Ashby a set of proposals that emphasize community involvement in education matters.[216]

A coalition of educational, civil rights, religious, and racial groups holds a meeting sponsored by the Newark Community Coalition. The Coalition is seeking to obtain representation at the strike negotiations, and is dedicated to preventing NTU from acquiring more power.[196]

The City Council passes a resolution requested by 26 PTA presidents asking Governor Cahill to intervene and end the strike.[197]

Frank Fiorito, Executive Vice-President of NTU, is sentenced to six months in jail with three months suspended, becoming the first working teacher in New Jersey to be sent to jail for striking.[198]

Board negotiator Jacob Fox promises to remove himself from negotiations to relieve an impasse that developed over NTU's objection to his presence. NTU says it will resume talks today in spite of court actions.[199]

21 Negotiation talks are disrupted when 40 people from the Newark Community Coalition interrupt the meeting, asking to sit in at the talks. They leave after a spokesman for their group, the Reverend Mr. Ralph Stephens, Director of Urban Affairs for the Metropolitan United Methodist Ministry, is permitted to sit in. The Reverend Mr. Stephens leaves an hour later at the request of the Board and NTU. Another group, Newark Ministers for Better Schools, states its opposition to community representatives sitting in on the negotiations.[205]

22 Talks continue between the Board and NTU in secrecy with the mayor and deputy mayor participating. Police keep all people not directly involved in the neogitations out of the negotiation rooms.[206]

1. A starting salary of $8,000 for teachers with a Bachelor's Degree;

2. a five-step grievance procedure culminating in binding arbitration;

3. class size will typically be limited to 30 students;

4. two hundred fifty-two aides will be hired to relieve teachers of such non-professional chores as lunchroom duty;

5. the union agrees to commence no strikes in the duration of the agreement;

6. the Board and NTU would establish a More Effective School.[213]

NTU officials William Troublefield, James Lerman, and Betty Rufalo are given 3-month terms for violating the strike injunction, 3 months suspended, a $500 fine and placement on probation for a period of one year.[214]

MARCH

7 Mayoral candidate Wheeler charges Mayor Addonizio and Councilmen Imperiale and Turco with disregarding the community by eliminating $15,000,000 from the Board's budget, and with counting on additional state aid when there is no evidence that any more state aid will be forthcoming.[217]

13 A representative of the Newark Community Coalition warns the Board to keep schools closed during the Easter vacation to prevent a confrontation between teachers and parents.[219]

24 The Board, in spite of opposition from parents and community leaders, approves the opening of schools during Easter vacation. The Board is asked, "If the schools were not officially closed during the strike, then how can there exist a necessity for make-up time?"[220]

26 Superior Court Judge Herbert denies an application by the Newark Community Coalition for an injunction to prevent the opening of schools in Newark during the Easter vacation.[221]

MAY

12 In the mayoral election no candidate receives enough votes to win, requiring a runoff election.[224]

16 Superior Court Judge Mintz rules that the Union's $40,000 fine will have to be paid out of union dues.[225]

22 The Board proposes the installation of temporary classrooms in the playground adjacent to South Seventeenth Street School. Parents agree to the proposal and end their week-long boycott.[228]

JULY

18 State Commissioner of Education Marburger orders the Newark City Council to restore $17,000,000 cut from the Newark school's budget in Februaary.[229]

SEPTEMBER

1 Mrs. Helen Fullilove is appointed to the Board to replace Harold Ashby, who resigned.[232]

3 Jesse Jacob is elected President of the Board of Education. Harold J. Ashby is unanimously approved as Business Manager for the Board, a new post with a salary of $34,000 per year.[233]

APRIL

31 Easter week classes are reported unsuccessful, with approximately 10,000 out of 78,000 students attending, together with over 2,000 teachers, mainly NTU members. Superintendent Franklyn Titus instructs the teachers that no work may take place which would handicap students not in attendance.[222]

21 More than 1,700 students boycott classes at Miller Street School, with a variety of complaints regarding vandalism, security, cleanliness and overcrowding.[223]

JUNE

16 Kenneth Gibson defeats Hugh Addonizio in the mayoral runoff election, 55,000 to 43,000 votes, to become Newark's 34th mayor.[226]

18 A boycott begins at South Seventeenth Street School protesting five years of split sessions.[227]

19 Mayor Gibson appoints three new members of the Board of Education. They are Jesse Jacob, Marie De Castro Blake, and Charles Bell. They replace Gerald F. McCune, Dr. E. Wyman Garrett, and Emanuel Moran.[230]

21 Jesse Jacob, Charles Bell, and Fernando Zambrana are sworn in, after it was learned that Mrs. Blake did not meet residency requirements.[231]

6 Mrs. Elaine Brodie, head of the NAACP Education Committee, criticizes the Board for creating the position of Business Manager and then filling it on the same night.[234]

10 NTU accuses the Board of making a shocking number of illegal firings and terminations of permanent substitute teachers and teacher aides in the previous two days. Superintendent Titus explains that the permanent substitute teachers were simply being replaced by permanent teachers who were certified as a result of an acceleration of examination procedures and assignments during the summer. NTU President Graves asks for a meeting, to discuss the actions and in addition requests Mayor Gibson to initiate an investigation of the situation.[235]

17 The African Free School, established and guided by Imamu Amiri Baraka for the last three years, is incorporated into the Newark public school system. Students are to be taught at the Treat Elementary School by instructors paid out of Title I funds. A control group of 30 students pursuing the regular curriculum will be matched with the 30 African Free School students for a comparative evaluation of School's impact.[236]

Newark Councilman Sharpe James attacks both the Board and NTU, charging them with disregard of the city's school children. He is particularly concerned with the Board's requesting an appropriation of $4.3 million to pay for teachers' raises when these raises are already reflected in the teachers pay.[237]

26 Most Garfield students and teachers are absent as NTU supports the boycott.[240]

27 The Board hires Donald Saunders from Burlington County as a labor relations consultant for $28,000 a year. Board President Jacob asserts that the Board has made mistakes in the past by not having a professional negotiator. John Cervase opposes the appointment on the grounds that Jacob's action was hasty and dictatorial, and furthermore Saunders would not be intimately familiar with Newark.[241]

12 Mayor Gibson announces that the city lacks the $5,000,000 to $6,000,000 necessary to keep the schools open beyond the end of December. The City Council has not yet appropriated the $17,000,000 as ordered by Commissioner Marburger. Members of the City Council assert that they are confused by the school financing situation. Council President Turco says that the $17,000,000 appropriation is not even on the Council's agenda yet and he does not know exactly what the procedure should be for putting it on the agenda.[244]

20 Less than 10 per cent of the students at South Eighth Street School are in attendance as the result of a boycott. Parents are demanding the ouster of three white teachers, a greater voice in the decision-making structure of the school, including the hiring and firing of school personnel, and the resumption of non-teaching chores by the school's teachers.[245]

fire all South Eighth Street School personnel. They also want more black teachers on the staff, a community role in the selection of both library books and classroom text books, more custodians hired to clean the school buildings, more security guards, a blocking of the streets surrounding the school during the school day, the school playground patrolled after hours, a seven-day recreational program with a full time female instructor, and community members as active participants in all future contract negotiations between the Board and NTU. Among the leaders of the boycotting parents is former Board member Dr. E. Wyman Garrett.[247] NTU accuses the Board of fostering an atmosphere of hostility and violence at the South Eighth Street School.[248]

DECEMBER

1 Mayor Gibson announces that the financial crisis facing the Board is solved. He explains the solution in terms of tight-money handling and a little permissible but marginal bookkeeping; no new money has been obtained. He states that if additional money is needed by the Board, one possibility is to borrow money.[249]

OCTOBER

24 A Federal Appeals Court in Philadelphia upholds the Board's 1968 decision to suspend examinations for appointment of principals. The 10 white teachers who had appealed to the court say that they will take their case to the United States Supreme Court.[238]

16 Approximately half the students at the Garfield School are absent as parents initiate a boycott to protest over-crowding.[239]

NOVEMBER

5 A poll of Garfield parents indicates they are willing to accept split sessions in prefabricated classrooms as a solution to over-crowding.[242]

6 The Newark PTA and a group called Concerned Parents adopt a resolution protesting an arbitrator's decision freeing Newark Teachers of non-professional duties in an unpublicized ruling two weeks before. A PTA spokesman says that "while we realize that the hands of the Board members are legally tied, we still feel that they should not have given NTU such power."[243]

22 Donald Saunders, the Board's labor relations specialist, meets with representatives of a number of community groups. Describing himself as "representative of the community on the Board," Saunders says the meeting is an opportunity to determine the community's feelings, in anticipation of negotiations with NTU for a new contract.[246]

23 The Board rules that three white teachers, who have been described by the South Eighth Street School PTA as "insensitive to the community," are to be transferred to other schools. Other demands by boycotting parents still remaining to be met are that teachers are required to supervise children on the playground, in the cafeteria and in the school's halls. The stance of the parents is in opposition to an arbitrator's ruling that teachers, in accordance with the 1970 contract, would not have to carry out such "non-teaching" chores. Another demand of the parents is that the PTA have the right to hire and

5 Mrs. Robert Spencer, President of the Newark PTA, says there may be a city-wide boycott of schools if teachers are allowed to continue not performing non-professional chores.[250]

6 Conflict between NTU and the Board begins to surface in anticipation of negotiations for the next contract. On one of the major issues, binding arbitration, Board President Jacob says "we are going to fight the NTU with everything we have, be assured we are not going to sit by and let the prostitution that was perpetrated on our children last year be perpetrated again this year... I want to know, since a large percentage of teachers live out of the city, whether they allow binding arbitration in their school districts? They come in here and say they want it, but the community is saying no."[251]

NTU President Graves accuses the Board of attempting through intimidation and provocation to force the union to call a strike "in order to break the union."[252]

While the Board and its chief negotiator Donald Saunders stress their alignment with "the community," Mayor Gibson remarked in a television appearance that while it is a good idea to get people involved in these talks, there are 400,000 people in the city, and he did not understand how so many people could possibly be involved in the operation of the schools. He said further that he did not quite understand what is meant by community participation: "I am opposed to assuming that because you have a child in school that you can then determine what is going to happen in the school system."[253]

10 Parents at South Eighth Street School block entrance of teachers who instead of teaching on December 9 had gone to the Board to make demands regarding non-professional chores.[254]

1971

JANUARY

5 The first formal contract talks begin between the Board and NTU to work out a contract for the 1971-1973 school year period. The talks do not last long; Board negotiator Donald Saunders walks out claiming that he had been insulted. Jesse Jacob, Board President, claims NTU sent an agitator rather than a negotiator to talk to the Board. Jacob is quoted as saying. "They are not going to send a 'lackey' in here to talk with my chief negotiator." Saunders says he will negotiate not with Carole Graves, but with Vincent Russell, national negotiator for the AFT.

The Board says it is totally opposed to binding arbitration, and calls for the formation of a board of teacher accountability in each school. The board would be composed of teachers, parents, and students and would evaluate each teacher in terms of the teacher's ability and efforts. The Board further says that it believes parents and community groups should play an active role in the negotiations and that a panel of community representatives should be established to determine where teachers are going to work within the city. The Board is also adamantly opposed to the item in last year's contract pertaining to nonprofessional chores. The teachers insist upon retaining it in this year's contract. The Board's position is that there is no such thing as non-professional chores.

12 Carole Graves criticizes the Board for not being concerned with the conditions of schools in Newark. She also indicates that if a contract agreement is not reached by February 1, the union has adopted and will maintain a "no contract - no work policy."[258]

21 NTU votes not to go to work at the expiration of their current contract on January 31. unless the new contract has been signed. NTU remains under a permanent injunction against striking handed down during last year's strike. One member of NTU negotiating team is transferred involuntarily from her position as a teacher in a Title I Program to a position as a fifth grade teacher. The transfer is characterized as an attempt to intimidate the union.[259]

the Newark Community Coalition refers to NTU as "a sick, barbaric teachers' union." Mayor Gibson says that he might enter negotiations between NTU and the Board, "if the situation warrants it." The Board of School Estimate approves the Board's requests for an additional appropriation of almost $3.5 million, which will be used primarily for acquisition of sites and construction of facilities for schools.[261]

27 Newark's longshoremen's union announces that it has no intention whatsoever of becoming involved in any way in a teachers' strike in Newark. The President of the local branch of the International Longshoremen's Association, Carl Gardner, also indicated it is in agreement with the Newark Community Coalition. He goes a step further, saying that if any longshoremen come into the city, picket the schools, and threaten the education of the children, the city should be turned upside down.[262]

11 Forty-eight teachers are reported back at South Eighth Street School after Board President Jacob assures them that security and protection will be provided both inside and outside the school. The teachers had stayed away after a parents group told them to either perform non-professional chores or leave the school.[255]

17 NTU accuses the Board and its labor relations specialist, Donald Saunders, of stalling negotiations in an effort to provoke a strike. NTU President Graves says she wants the community to know that NTU does not want to strike.[256]

Among the specific proposals raised by NTU are the following: teachers' salaries would start at a minimum of $10,000 for a beginning teacher with a Bachelor's Degree; in grievance procedures the Board would pay the entire cost, if a grievance is decided in favor of the Union; once a decision has been reached through arbitration over a particular grievance, that ruling would apply to all subsequent similar grievances; a committee of Board members and NTU members should review all curricula and implement the new curricula by January 31 of 1972; the Board would be required to rent or lease space to accommodate classrooms in order to reduce over-crowded schools until construction of prefabricated buildings can be completed; the determination of shortages of space would be made by NTU in consultation with the local community; each member of the Board would be required to teach at least five days of each school year as a per diem substitute in the city schools, a welfare fund would be established with the Board contributing $400 per teacher per year; class size would be limited to 30 students where possible except in the first three grades, which would be limited to 18 students; all schools would have 24-hour-a-day security guards, with no fewer than one guard for each 250 students; 20 day care centers and 20 More Effective Schools would be established during 1971.

Board member Cervase states that the proposals are too expensive and could raise the school budget to $110,000,000 if all demands are met.[257]

25 Ms. Graves asks Mayor Gibson to intervene in negotiations with the Board. She also points out that she has been physically attacked, windows at her home have been broken, her car has been damaged, and that police say they do not have the manpower to provide her with any special protection.[260]

26 Jesse Jacob reports to the Board that he has learned that NTU is planning to use longshoremen to man picket lines in the event of a strike. In reaction to his announcement, the Newark Community Coalition spokesman says, "We are demanding a decent education for our children and if they send in longshoremen to picket, we'll turn this city upside down." Dr. Garrett tells the Board, "If the teachers decide to strike, they should not come back to Newark to teach." Ms. Brodie of

29 Mayor Gibson appeals to NTU to stay in school and keep teaching after their contract expires. He goes on to say that 1971 will be a difficult year for Newark because the city does not have the money to meet the demands of NTU.[263]

About 2,000 students walk out of classes and converge on the Downtowner Motor Inn, where the Board and NTU are holding negotiation meetings. The students ask the teachers to continue working after their contract runs out.

The New Jersey AFL-CIO announces that it will not stand by and watch the Board crush the union. It criticizes Mayor Gibson for taking a neutral position in the dispute.[264]

30 Despite efforts by Mayor Gibson to intervene, members of NTU say they will strike if a settlement is not reached during overnight negotiations. Negotiations continue but the Board refuses to talk about any items other than salaries, working conditions, and hours. NTU representatives say that such a limitation will seriously impair negotiations.[265]

31 Members of NTU vote to strike unless a contract is reached by 8 a.m. on February 1.[266]

CIO, in a letter to Mayor Gibson warns that other union members would not cross the teachers' picket lines, suggesting that union support would close the schools.

The main items to be negotiated remain binding arbitration, non-professional chores, and certain prerogatives of NTU on teachers' transfers and assignments.[267]

2 Teachers begin picketing schools. Approximately 15 teachers leaving NTU's office at 804 Clinton Avenue are attacked and beaten by a gang of 20 to 25 black youths carrying weapons.[268]

The Board announces that a teacher will need a doctor's certification stating that the teacher is too sick to work, before a sick day will be granted. The Board also rescinds the rules and regulations governing the relationship between the Board and the teachers by voiding the last three teachers' contracts. The Board is now working under rules and regulations prevailing in 1965.[269]

ONE President Kenneth Travitt strongly denies any role by ONE in the assualts on teachers. He suggests that some members of NTU have encouraged the misinformation in order to alienate some of their own members from ONE. The two organizations have overlapping membership.[272]

Mayor Gibson's ostensibly neutral role becomes increasingly complex. Most of the white City Councilmen and the business community oppose his proposed tax package; the black City Councilmen suggest that the opposition has racial overtones.[273]

The Newark City Council adopts a $3.4 million school rehabilitation and construction program. The Council also adopts a resolution calling upon Newark teachers to return to school.[274]

Arrest orders are issued by Superior Court Judge Ward J. Herbert for NTU officials Graves, Fiorito, and Nicholas. The three NTU leaders have left the Downtowner Inn, their negotiation headquarters, and it is not known where they are.[276]

A split has developed between Mayor Gibson and the Board over the issue of binding arbirtation. The Mayor is reported in agreement with the union on the issue of binding arbitration while the Board is still strongly opposed. The Board's chief negotiator, Donald Saunders, states that "the city will not live with binding arbitration, the Mayor doesn't know much about education."

The Mayor has reportedly come to an agreement with NTU on a two-year contract that would involve additional expenditures of $14.5 million. The contract would include binding arbitration; a redefinition of non-professional chores based upon federal guidelines; no salary increase for the first year, but a reduction in the number of years required to reach the maximum pay from 10 to 9;

FEBRUARY

1 NTU commences a strike after the all-night session does not result in an agreement. The Board reports that slightly more than half of the city's teachers reported for work today, together with approximately half of the students attending schools. Board President Jacob reports that all the schools in the city are officially open.

NTU President Graves reports that Mayor Gibson had offered to extend the contract for a week and that he was willing to leave binding arbitration in the contract but, according to Ms. Graves, would strip the contract of all other essential items, leaving nothing to arbitrate. Ms. Graves complains again of a lack of a police protection for members of the union. Her car is set on fire.

ONE states its opposition to the strike and its President, Kenneth Travitt, calls on its members to work "on the side to the community."

Representatives of the Newark Student Federation announce they will do everything possible to keep both the elementary and secondary schools open. Mayor Gibson, at the end of the school day, commends those teachers who attended classes today. Charles Marciante, President of the New Jersey AFL-

3 The Board and NTU resume negotiations. The Board is reportedly modifying its position on key issues including non-professional chores, the welfare fund, and binding arbitration. It is reported that the Board is prepared to accept binding arbitration if only one grievance is arbitrated at a time; that it will seek to have federal guidelines applied to both professional and para-professional positions; and that it will ask the teachers to cut in half their $400 per teacher per year welfare fund demand. It is also expected that the Board will pursue the establishment of a program of teacher evaluation and will give consideration to a study of school curricula.[270]

Marciante again offers the support of his union to the striking teachers and condemns what he refers to as "goon squads" roaming the streets of Newark attacking teachers. He says that if such violence continues, there will be no goods or supplies delivered to any Newark school. In addition to Marciante, AFT President Selden, Board President Jacob, and Ralph T. Grant, Executive Director of the Newark Human Rights Commission, condemn the attack on the teachers.[271]

4 The Board presents NTU with a proposed contract. Victor De Filippo, Counsel to the Board, obtains an order from Superior Court Judge Herbert permitting the issuance of notices to striking teachers that they are in violation of Judge's permanent injunction against the strike. One of the individuals signing affidavits for the court order gave as her address that of Spirit House, operated by Imamu Amiri Baraka. NTU officials have alleged that Baraka dictates Board policy in regard to the strike.

The contract offered by the Board to NTU reportedly includes no salary considerations, but offers the opportunity to discuss salary in the near future; it also does not include binding arbitration but gives the Board the right to veto any arbitration decision reached.[275]

a $1,000 across-the-board raise during the second year for teacher; a 50¢ an hour raise for para-professional aides in the first year and a 75 ¢ an hour raise in the second year; the city would contribute $200 a year per teacher to a welfare fund in the first year and $400 per teacher per year in the second year.[277]

A coalition of community and student groups issue a statement condemning NTU for striking.[278]

The Industrial Union Council and the local Firemen's Mutual Benevolent Association pledge their support to NTU.[279]

5 NTU Vice-President Dasher says the union will not negotiate without the presence of Carole Graves. It is also reported, however, that NTU is engaged in formal talks with both the Board and the Newark Mayor's office.

The Board reports that today 25,000 students out of 78,000 were in attendance and that approximately half of the city's 4,400 teachers were in class.[280]

Pickets are removed from schools. A group of parents meets with Mayor Gibson, who again refuses to play a formal role in the bargaining.

Arrangements are made for the surrender to the county sheriff of Ms. Graves, Mr. Fiorito, and Mr. Nicholas. It is reported that Judge Herbert is asking all parties to resume negotiations as part of the agreement for the surrender of the three union officials.[281]

8 A planned negotiation session is cancelled by the Board after it is learned that NTU has resumed picketing. Following the cancellation, Carole Graves meets alone with Mayor Gibson, after which the Mayor meets alone with Board President Jacob. Jacob announces that he will not engage in negotiations so long as the teachers continue picketing, that arrest orders will be served on picketing teachers, and that he wants every picketing teacher arrested.

A confrontation between pro-and anti-strike parents occurs at First Avenue School, reportedly resulting in two parents being injured.

Attendance is down, to approximately 25 per cent of the teachers and 34 per cent of the students.[286]

10 Jesse Jacob announces that the Board is seeking arrest orders and that picketing must stop by tomorrow in order for negotiations to resume.[289] Carole Graves announces that picketing will be halted tomorrow "as a gesture of good faith."[290]

Board member Cervase states that it is not likely that a settlement will be reached soon, so long as the Board maintains its present position.[291]

Jesse Jacob concedes some effects on the schools from union members refusing to cross picket lines to make deliveries and to maintain the school system's facilities.[292]

The Newark Student Federation of High School Councils draws up a list of demands to present to the Board and NTU. They indicate that they wish to have a voice in the negotiations and in the settlement, but that they are not aligning themselves with either the Board or the union. NTU has no objection to a student observer sitting in on negotiations. The Board's position is that the ground rules for the negotiations preclude a student observer.[293]

Members of NTU and the Board hold preliminary talks with Gustav Heningburg, Executive Director of the Newark Urban Coalition, as moderator.[298]

While picketing is suspended at the schools, 300 teachers picket outside the Essex County Court House in support of arrested members of NTU.[299]

12 Informal talks are held with Heningburg acting as moderator.[300]

6 The three NTU officers surrender;[282] Mayor Gibson arranges a meeting between the Board and NTU that lasts approximately an hour, during which NTU presents a contract proposal for the Board to study.[283]

State Senator Gerardo Del Tufo calls for a State take over of the Newark school system and suggests that this would resolve the city's financial problems.[284]

7 An all day meeting is held between the Board and Mayor Gibson in which the Board studies NTU's contract proposal. The teachers hold a rally and it is reported that approximately 4 more teachers have been attacked either at or near their homes. Several labor leaders state their support of NTU, including John Brown, Executive Secretary of the State AFL-CIO; Martin Veneri, President of the Industrial Union Council; Bayard Rustin, Executive Director of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute; Connie Woodruff of the ILGWU; and Joel Jacobson of the UAW.[285]

9 Members of NTU picket again, appearing in large numbers at South Eighth Street School, the scene of controversial involuntary transfer of teachers the previous year. Among the pickets at South Eighth Street School is Bayard Rustin. A counter picket line led by Dr. E. Wyman Garrett is established at the school. Among the signs carried by counter-demonstrators are some reading: "RUSTIN, FAG GO HOME." Also present at the school is Board President Jacob who attempts to give pickets copies of the permanent injunction against the strike, which they refuse to accept. Jacob re-emphasizes that negotiations will not resume while picketing continues and states that binding arbitration, the teachers' welfare fund, and non-professional chores are the main issues that must still be settled.[287] He asserts that a number of non-striking teachers continue to be harassed and threatened with bodily harm.

Judge Herbert orders NTU officials to appear before Superior Court Judge Alcorn on February 19 to show cause why the union itself should not be held in contempt of his permanent injunction against the strike.[288]

At a Board of School Estimate meeting, Newark City Council President Turco and South Ward Councilman James both criticize the Board's proposed budget of $89,000,000 for the 1971-1972 school year. James is particularly critical of the high salaries of the Secretary, Deputy Secretary, and two assistant secretaries to the Board, which total approximately $100,000.[294]

First Avenue School parents, led by Anthony Imperiale, picket the school, preventing teachers from entering. One black teacher is escorted through the parents' picket line by police into the school, leaving shortly afterwards.[295]

11 Four NTU members, including two officers of the union and the editor of the union paper, surrender to the Essex County sheriff on charges of violating the Superior Court's injunction against the strike.[296] Later in the evening, Assistant County Prosecutor Thomas Ford Jr. announces that he may seek action revoking the bail of NTU officials and the suspended portions of sentences from the previous year, jailing those teachers.[297]

13 The chief negotiators for the Board, and NTU, meet for three hours with Heningburg. Further progress is blocked by a dispute regarding a starting point for negotiations. NTU's position is that the contract secured in the previous year is non-negotiable and only the additional items are open to discussion. The Board's position is that the 1970 contract has run out and therefore negotiations must include all issues.[301]

15 Moderator Heningburg announces that unless both sides change their positions and modify their demands, talks are impossible. Mayor Gibson announces that he will undertake a full review of all issues to inform the public and himself. Ms. Graves criticizes the Mayor for going to a conference of mayors in San Francisco while negotiations in the strike are stalled.[302]

A black teacher in Newark claims to have been assaulted earlier in the month by a white teacher at a press conference held by ONE. Other black teachers in Newark relate incidents of alleged NTU and parent-initiated physical assaults, automobile vandalism and harassment. The president of ONE terms the union a racist organization which has "misled a few colored lackeys," including NTU President Carole Graves. Also present at the news conference is Elaine Brodie, of the NAACP Education Committee, who reports that her car had been firebombed.[303]

City Council President Turco proposes a plan to settle the strike including a return to classrooms, an extension of the 1970 contract, and the appointment of a mediator by Commissioner Marburger, with the mediator's ruling to become retroactive to February 1.[304] An Essex County Grand Jury announces it will begin hearing information on the attack upon Newark teachers by a group of black youths two weeks ago.[305]

18 A black New Jersey Union official charges the president of ONE with injecting issues of racism into a labor-management dispute by suggesting that the unions supporting NTU were "lily white."[309]

The Newark Board of School Estimate vote to reduce the Board's proposed 1971-1972 $89,000,000 budget by $5,000,000. They also reduce by more than half, a Board request for an additional $4,000,000 for the 1970-1971 year. Mayor Gibson casts the deciding vote, citing the city's current financial crisis as the major reason.[310]

A brief formal negotiation meeting between the Board and NTU breaks down when the two sides fail to agree on what it is they will negotiate. The Board now accepts 70 percent of the expired contract, but insists upon re-negotiating the remainder. Among the items to be re-negotiated would be the grievance procedure and the welfare fund. NTU's proposed package would maintain all the main points of the previous contract and, in addition, entail a two-year pay package with $500 across-the-board increases each year, a curriculum revision committee, day care centers, a Board-funded Headstart Program, and the placing of draft counselors in the high schools.[311]

20 Moderator Heningburg charges that neither the Board nor NTU is flexible enough for a settlement in the strike to be in sight. He also criticizes civic leaders, business organizations throughout the city and Mayor Gibson for not playing large enough roles in settling the strike.[315]

21 Board member Cervase says that members of the Board are taking an unreasonably hard stand; he repeats his proposal that the contract from last year be extended until a new contract is negotiated. He claims some members of the Board are trying to keep him from talking but he insists on responding to criticism in the press and from Heningburg. He says he is in agreement with Mayor Gibson, who had asked for moderation from Board members.

City Councilman Megaro also criticizes the

Dr. Garrett says that the mood of the city is similar to that preceding the 1967 riot. Garrett says the community wants for its children the same thing that NTU members want for their children, and that Newark cannot have binding arbitration when the suburbs, where he says union members live, don't have it. He says power has always rested with the Board, "but all of a sudden, when it is controlled by black members, there is talk of taking that power away."[320]

23 Dr. Silver initiates negotiation meetings that he says will go around the clock.[321]

A conference is held at the initiative of Councilman Frank Megaro at a restaurant in the North Ward. Attending the conference are Cervase, State Senator Maturri, Assemblyman Caputo, City Council President Turco, Dr. Michael Petti, Frank Fiorito, Harry Wheeler, Steven Adubato, and Anthony Imperiale. The meeting attracts about 1,000 people, mainly white, from the North Ward. There is

17 Striking teachers go to Trenton to seek the intervention of Governor Cahill and Commissioner Carl Marburger. The Governor meeting with Mayor Gibson on the Mayor's tax package, refuses to see the teachers, who then demonstrate outside and later inside the building. The Governor and Carole Graves exchange sharp words in a hallway regarding Mayor Gibson. The Governor refuses to meet with her delegation without an appointment. The teachers then proceed to sit-in. The departing Mayor Gibson is surrounded and shoved by teachers before he is able to get out of the building.[306]

Judge Herbert indicates that he will seek a show cause order against 75 East Side High School teachers who have been absent since the first day of the strike.[307]

NTU receives a telegram from the Board indicating the Board's willingness to resume talks on February 18 and not insisting upon a cessation of picketing as a condition for the resumption of talks.[308]

19 Later Ms. Graves announces that NTU is asking the Public Employees Relations Commission to supply a mediator to handle the dispute, at the suggestion of Governor Cahill.

Three hundred students picket the hotel where negotiations are supposed to be taking place and then march to City Hall where they are addressed by Mayor Gibson. He tells them he is doing everything he can to end the strike, though he cannot sit in at the bargaining table nor can be sign the contract.[313]

MUHAMMAD SPEAKS, a newspaper of the Nation of Islam (commonly called the Black Muslims) criticizes Board President Jacob for attempting to break the union, Mayor Gibson for failing to exercise leadership in resolving the strike, and Imamu Baraka for being a racist.[314]

Board, saying their autonomous and non-elected status makes them insensitive to the community. He suggests that it is unreasonable to expect NTU to rescind the rights it had won in last year's contract, since traditionally unions do not give up previous gains. He agrees that last year's contract was teacher oriented, but observes that the Board's current proposals are no more student-oriented than NTU's proposals. He also calls for a temporary extension of last year's contract.[317]

22 Jonas Silver, a member of the New York State Public Employment Relations Board, is picked by the New Jersey Public Employement Relations Commission to serve as mediator in the strike.[318]

The Black Panther Party announces its support of NTU, saying it sees the struggle of the union as one for progressive change for blacks.[319]

very little agreed upon at the conference, which constantly degenerates into emotional arguments. Megaro says he will call upon the city Council to intervene and play a more central role in settling the strike.[322]

The Board announces it informally hired a public relations consultant, Bill Cherry, to relate to the press the Board's position in the strike situation, as a means of counterbalancing press relations efforts of NTU.[323]

24 NTU is fined $50,000 by Superior Court Judge Samuel Alcorn for violation of the permanent injunction against the strike.

Judge Alcorn refers to the strike as an "intentional, deliberate and flagrant violation of the injunction." He says, "Such conduct is criminal indeed; stolen money can be replaced, learning is forever lost." The judge also imposes a penalty of $5,000 per day upon the union for the next two days and subsequently $7,500 a day, if the strike is not settled after two more days.[324]

James Hooper, former Chairman of Newark Essex CORE, proposes that the Board take such actions to end the strike as: sending the Selective Service System the names of draft deferred teachers on strike, voiding contracts with firms whose employees respect the teachers' picket lines and making public all the terms in the proposed contract.[326]

State Senator Gerardo Del Tufo calls on Commissioner Marburger to personally intervene in the strike. Del Tufo says that among the Commissioner's responsibilities is the major responsibility for all school systems in the state. Marburger replies that he will consult with the Attorney General's office before making any decisions.[327]

Picketing is resumed at some schools and about 90 striking teachers demonstrate at City Hall.[328]

At a teachers' rally NTU organizer Polonski responds to charges from Dr. Garrett, stating that binding arbitration is not excluded from contracts in suburbs and in fact exists in contracts in 110 New Jersey communities including the Newark suburbs of West Orange, Glen Ridge, East Orange, and Nutley.[332]

27 Negotiations are resumed with Dr. Silver serving as mediator. Silver imposes a news ban on the negotiations. Labor leaders again promise support to NTU - the New Jersey Industrial Council of the AFL-CIO says that they will take decisive action to assist the teachers.[333]

2 Four leaders of NTU are sentenced to prison for 6-month terms and fined $500 each; they are Fiorito, Lerman, Lasus, and Dasher.[338]

Cervase elaborates his claims that outside influences affect the Board, stating that on several occasions parent-teacher organizations, parent committees and advisory committees have conferred with Superintendent of Schools Titus and individual Board members before Board decisions were made. He does not go on to identify the groups more specifically.[339]

Newark Council President Turco, at a mass meeting at Vailsburg High School, calls for the resignation of Jesse Jacob and the dismissal of the Newark Board of Education's chief negotiator Donald Saunders.[340]

4 Early in the day, Graves, Fiorito, and Nicholas, under orders to instruct NTU members to return to work, defy those orders. Ms. Graves says at an NTU rally, "to go back now without a contract is unacceptable to us."[343]

Late in the day, the three officers are arrested and taken to the Essex County Penitentiary in Caldwell to start serving their sentences for violating the anit-strike injunction.[345]

Two Newark State College seniors open a free school for children in the First Avenue School area.[344]

Mediator Jonas Silver quits and returns to his home in New York, saying that while he would remain available for consultation, "I believe my presence in Newark can no longer serve any useful purpose."[346]

25 Jesse Jacob says he will not recognize Jonn Cervase as a member of the Board until Cervase apologizes to Jacob for his allegations that the Board is under the influence of outsiders. Cervase responds that he will explain later what he means by outsiders and calls on Jacob to apologize for calling him a liar.[329]

At the Board meeting large numbers of people demand to know why the Board has been unable to settle the strike. Jacob says he is unable to comment on negotiations under a set of ground rules set by mediator Jonas Silver.[330]

NTU officials Graves, Fiorito, and Nicholas are ordered jailed and then released a few hours later, under orders from Superior Court Judge Sullivan of the Appellate Division, who directs them to cease and desist from any strike activities and to instruct the teachers to return to school. In reaction to the court action jailing the NTU leaders, Silver suspends any efforts at neogtiations.[331]

28 Two thousand members of NTU meet in a rally and vote to continue the strike. They are urged to continue the strike by Graves, Fiorito, and Nicholas, in violation of the condition for the postponement of their imprisonment.[334]

Informal talks continue, after formal talks were terminated earlier in the day.[335]

Councilman Megaro issues another denunciation of the Board President and reiterates his support for NTU, saying "Jesse Jacob has confused autonomy with dictatorship."[336]

MARCH

1 The Essex County Prosecutor's office moves to have three major officials of NTU begin to serve 6-month sentences that had been stayed on condition that they ask the teachers to return to the schools.[337]

3 A dispute arises in a meeting of the City Council between Council President Turco and Councilmen James and Westbrooks. Westbrooks and James accuse Turco of supporting the strike and Turco accuses them of seeking to smear him. After an exchange of insults, Westbrooks and James walk out. Outside the chamber, Councilman-at-large Bontempo, who supported Turco, and James get into fisticuffs. James accuses Turco specifically of false statements regarding teacher benefits; James says that the benefits Turco is in favor of would cost the city more than $15,000,000. Turco suggests in turn that James is representing Mayor Gibson's administration in the absence of leadership by Gibson himself.[341]

Graves announces that she will comply with the Appellate Division of the Superior Court and order teachers to return to work as a condition for a staying of her sentence of 6 months to the County Penitentiary. She adds, however, that the strike will continue until the union membership decides otherwise.[342]

7 Mayor Gibson says that the strike did not have to happen, that he had a settlement worked out with NTU on February 1, but the Board refused to extend the teachers' contract for one week while they discussed it.

In response to teachers' questions on his own role, Mayor Gibson again states that the Board is autonomous and a contract must be signed between the Board and NTU.[347]

9 NTU charges that David Barrett, President of the United Community Corporation, allowed federally funded cars to be used to transport anti-teacher pickets. Barrett denies the charges, saying that he is on the education committee of the Committee for Unified Newark which is working with the NewArk Community Coalition to keep the schools open, and therefore had come to many of the strike scenes at the request of parents.[348]

Cervase says that the intervention of Mayor Gibson would end the strike but that the Mayor is a captive of Imamu Amiri Baraka,[349] NAACP Education Chairman Brodie, and Dr. Garrett. He states that those leaders had indicated to the Board and to Gibson that there would be "a riot if the strike was settled on the basis of the old contract."

A second Free School is opened on the North side of the city to provide education for children during the strike.[350]

Mayor Gibson says that if the teachers' wage demands are met by the Board they could bankrupt the city, and that the striking teachers have disregarded the public's interest. The Mayor also states that he is in favor of binding arbitration at a meeting of the American Arbitration Association, where he is picketed by striking teachers who object to his giving the speech when he has not been able to settle the strike in his own city.[351]

State Senator Del Tufo says he will ask the Senate Education Committee to learn what Commissioner Marburger is doing about the strike. He says he has been unable to reach Marburger himself.[352]

15 A promised citywide work stoppage by the AFL-CIO is postponed when negotiations re-commence with Silver resuming his role as mediator.[357]

Turco suggests that the Board may be misusing tax revenues by keeping the schools open during the strike. He urges his constituents to oppose the Board's stance, assigning responsibility to the Board for the strike by refusing to extend the teachers' contract and thereby locking them out. He calls for the resignations of Jesse Jacob and Donald Saunders.[358]

16 Over 400 parents meet in a community forum and urge the Board not to include binding arbitration or welfare funds in a contract with NTU.[359]

20 With Mayor Gibson and Jonas Silver acting as mediators, the Board and the union resume negotiations and are reportedly down to two issues, binding arbitration and the definition of non-professional chores.[363]

24 Approximately 250 students, after failing to reach the negotiation meetings on the 10th floor of the Downtowner Motor Inn, settle down on the 9th floor and refuse to leave. They point out that the strike has worked particular hardship on college bound seniors in the city's high schools.[364]

NTU and the Board jointly sponsor a conference for 100 parents to explain to them what collective bargaining involves. The parents attending

26 Mayor Kenneth Gibson appoints a new mediation panel consisting of: the director and assistant director of the Board of Mediation of Community Disputes; and the assistant director of the National Center for Dispute Settlements of the American Arbitration Association. The Board accepts the role of the new negotiating panel. NTU's position is that there is no point in further negotiations since negotiator Silver had already made recommendations before resigning, and the Board had not acted on them.[368]

28 AFT official Ron Polanski, explains the role of Charles Marciante and the AFL-CIO as that of providing between $300 and $600 per day to NTU, which has been "broke" for eight months.[369]

11 In Trenton, Commissioner Marburger is called before the State Senate Education Committee to testify on his efforts toward settling the strike. Mayor Gibson meets with Governor Cahill, and State Senator Maturri introduces an amendment to the State's Employer-Employee Relations Act to provide for binding arbitration in strikes, of the type that have occured in Newark, when they reach an impasse.[353]

Charles Marciante takes a proposal from the Board to the Essex County Penitentiary to present it to Graves, Fiorito, and Nicholas. They promplty reject the proposal as presenting nothing new.[354]

Representatives of NTU say that they are expanding salary demands, so that when the teachers return to work after the long strike they will be compensated for the money they are losing in wages.[355]

The state appointed mediator Silver has been in contact with both sides, but will not resume negotiations for lack of evidence of flexibility on either side.[356]

17 Formal negotiations end and are followed by "discussions," described by Silver as not promising. Labor leader Marciante accuses Board negotiator Saunders of being the chief impediment to progress by resurrecting older issues whenever progress is made in the negotiations.[360]

Some of the striking teachers call on Marciante and organized labor to stop announcing general strikes that they do not carry out, expressing a general disenchantment with the role of organized labor.[361]

18 Mayor Gibson spends several hours in the Downtowner Motor Inn trying to bring both sides together for negotiation. He succeeds in getting everyone housed on the same floor of the hotel to facilitate talks, but doesn't succeed in establishing formal negotiations.[362]

respond that they are less concerned with issues and procedures than they are with the effects that the strike is having on the students.[365]

25 Jonas Silver proposes that Newark teachers be relived of non-professional chores and that a panel of four arbitrators be appointed to settle all grievances arising out of the negotiated contract. He presents the proposal to NTU, the Board, and to Mayor Gibson. Silver then leaves Newark, saying that he has done all that could be done in the way of mediation and there would be no further purpose for him to be present.[366] NTU accepts his suggestions and the Board rejects them.[367]

30 The Board announces that it will suspend 347 of the teachers participating in the strike. These are teachers who have either said they were striking or who have not been in school and have not explained why they were absent.[370]

APRIL

1 Nine teachers are arrested on charges of violating the anti-strike injunction and freed on bail.[371]

2 NTU officials say they officially ratify the contract proposed by Jonas Silver, but will not submit it to the union membership until the Board officially endorses it. This stance emerges from a meeting between NTU leaders and Board member Cervase at the Essex County Penitentiary.[372]

John Cervase announces that he will call a public Board meeting on April 6. He says that five members of the Board have pledged to ratify an agreement with NTU. The five are Charles Bell, Allan Krim, Thomas Malanga, Dr. Petti, and Cervase. Cervase says that he is taking the action because Jesse Jacob refused to call a special meeting.[373]

The five Board members disposed toward ratifying the agreement include two, Krim and Malanga, reportedly pressured by Mayor Gibson and one, Bell, reportedly pressured by NTU through the AFL-CIO unit in New York for which he is Assistant Director of Education.[374]

6 The Board adjourns after several fights break out between blacks and whites at the meeting at which the Board was scheduled to decide whether or not to ratify the teacher contract. One of the speakers at the Board meeting is Dr. Garrett, who warns teachers not to return to South Eighth Street School. Dr. Garrett makes a variety of comments, including such reported statements as "you honkies run your schools the way you want to on your side of town and we'll run our schools on our side of town." The Reverend Mr. Henry Cade comments that Newark is the only community in all of Essex County not run by the majority group in the community. Ms. Brodie reminds Charles Bell that he had gotten his position on the Board by opposing last year's contract and therefore had a commitment to live up to. An argument breaks out between Jesse Jacob and John Cervase and each calls the other a liar.[377]

10 A group, including Imamu Amiri Baraka, go to City Hall demanding the dismissal of Police Director John Redden on the grounds that there has been violence during the strike which Redden did not control. Mayor Gibson denounces the group as "self-appointed community leaders making a lot of noise."[380]

Graves characterizes Baraka and his followers as not being satisfied with efforts to destroy NTU and now seeking to destroy Mayor Gibson.[381]

The Pastors' Study Rehabilitation and Aid Society of New Jersey Incorporated, headed by the Reverend Mr. William Hedgepeth, calls for the resignation of Jesse Jacob.[382]

16 Mayor Gibson proposes a contract that seeks to compromise issues of significant dispute. On the issue of non-professional chores, he proposes that teachers in elementary schools escort children to school exits and high school teachers monitor corridors between classes, in addition to other non-professional chores which he urged the teachers to carry out on a voluntary basis. He also proposes reinstatement of the 347 teachers who had been suspended by the Board and a 3-member arbitration panel to mediate disputes. In addition to contract issues, the Mayor proposes creation of a task force to review education in the city.[386]

17 NTU accepts the terms of Mayor Gibson's compromise proposals to end the strike, but will not officially vote on ratification until they are translated into contract terms and not until the Board accepts the recommendations.[387]

4 NTU announces it is ready to ratify the agreed upon contract if the Board ratifies it tomorrow, but that the 347 teachers who were suspended must be reinstated first.[375]

5 The Appellate Division of the Superior Court upholds the fines and convictions against 185 teachers and NTU on charges of violating an anti-strike injunction during the 1970 strike. NTU says they will appeal the decision to the State Supreme Court.[376]

7 In a second Board meeting to ratify the contract, Charles Bell changes his earlier informal "yes" vote, and a majority of the Board thereby rejects the contract. A large, mainly black, audience cheers the decision of the Board after a long series of emotional speeches in Newark's Symphony Hall. There are several skirmishes following the meeting in which people are arrested, including Dr. Garrett, who is arrested on charges of having allegedly attacked New York Times reporter Fox Butterfield. Also arrested is City Councilman Westbrooks, charged with blocking an aisle.[378]

The Newark City Council votes to seek voter approval for a change from an appointive to an elective Board. The same process, if approved, would apply to the Board budget.[379]

14 Graves, Nicholas, and Fiorito are freed from Essex County Penitentiary.[383]

The Board presents the union with a new contract, offering slight modification of the previous year's contract. It involves binding arbitration, some non-professional chores, but no commitment on reinstatement of the 347 teachers who were dismissed.[384]

15 NTU rejects the contract proposal of the Board, describing it as a "step backward in time."[385]

18 The Board accepts Mayor Gibsion's proposals, which are then ratified by NTU. The strike is ended.[388]

Among the major points of agreement are the following:

1. A starting salary of $8,000 for teachers with a Bachelor's Degree;

2. a five-step grievance procedure culminating in binding arbitration;

3. class size will typically be limited to 30 students;

4. non-professional chores shall be limited to leading children from building entrances to their classrooms and monitoring high school corridors between classes, substitutes and aides being responsible for all other non-professional chores;

5. the union agrees to commence no strikes in the duration of the contract period;

6. long-term substitutes, after 3 years of satisfactory service, shall be appointed permenent teachers and receive a salary accordingly.[389]

19 Thirty teachers are not permitted to return to their classes at South Eighth Street School. They are barred by parents and community residents. The barring of the teachers from the school is affirmed by Jesse Jacob, who says they will not be allowed to return to classrooms for their safety. Throughout the city approximately 90 teachers are unable to return to their schools.[390]

JULY

1 At a Board meeting Jesse Jacob nominates Mrs. Helen Fullilove for Presidency of the Board. Mrs. Fullilove, who had been appointed in September of 1970 to fill the rest of the term of Dr. Harold Ashby, is unanimously elected.[393]

11 Mayor Kenneth Gibson appoints a task force of 28 persons to evaluate the Newark School system, which he promised to do in April among other proposals for settling the strike. Among the goals he sets for the group are: recommendations of procedures for improvement in community-school relations, increasing the dedication of school system personnel to quality education, resolution of disputes within the school system, determining new sources of funds for the school system and improving coordination between existing education

19 City Councilman Giuliano and Council President Turco join Board President Helen Fullilove in opposing the Board resolution limiting summer jobs to present or former public school students. They charge that the ruling procludes from job opportunities parochial and private school students whose parents are Newark tax payers.[396]

27 The Board, in response to a motion by Board member Zambrana, rescinds its resolution limiting summer jobs to present or former Newark public school students and instead resolves to limit such employment to Newark residents.[397]

Under petition from David Barrett, President of the United Community Corporation, the Board agrees to rename South Eighth Street School the Martin Luther King, Jr. School, the South Tenth Street School the Harriet Tubman School, and Robert Treat School the Marcus Garvey School.[398]

OCTOBER

4 A week of violence commences at Barringer High School in a series of fights between black and white students and between students and police.[402]

14 The Board decides to establish as many as 24 community schools at the elementary level, involving general autonomy of administration, including extensive participation by parents of students in the experimental schools.[403]

MAY

12 The Board approves the transfer of 94 teachers, half of them from among those who had been barred from their classrooms since the end of the teachers' strike.[391]

JUNE

30 Mayor Gibson appoints a student to the Board. Lawrence Hamm, 17 years old, just graduated from Newark's Arts High School, was an active leader of students' groups during the 1971 strike.[392]

programs. The members of the task force include Dr. James A. Scott (Chairman), Dr. Harold Ashby (Vice-Chairman), Steven Adubato, Charles Bell, Stanley Bergen, Bert Berry, Michael Bottone, Elaine Brodie, Norman Buchanan, John Callen, Carmen Chinea, Frank Cooney, Dickinson Debevoise, Clara Dasher, Ben Epstein, Ruben Echevarria, Trinidad Gonzales, Edison Jackson, Sharpe James, J. Anton Jungherr, Allan Krim, Gordon Mays, Donald McCormick, Samuel Proctor, Virginia Scott, Martin Veneri, Edward Verner, and Hubert Williams.[394]

15 Lawrence Hamm, Jr., makes his first resolution as a member of the Board, that the Board employ in summer jobs only individuals who are or have been students in Newark schools. The resolution is adopted with a single dissenting vote being cast by Board President Helen Fullilove.[395]

AUGUST

1 A study conducted by the Greater Newark Chamber of Commerce is made public.[399] The study, focusing on business procedures, criticizes the Board as inefficient, wasteful, and archaic in its management practices and recommends extensive changes.[400]

SEPTEMBER

15 Commissioner Marburger orders the Newark City Council to restore $3.5 million that it had eliminated from the 1971-1972 budget for the Board.[401]

NOVEMBER

9 The United States Supreme Court refuses to hear appeals of 200 teachers arrested on contempt charges in the 1970 NTU strike, thus exhausting legal procedures for the teachers and ensuring their imprisonment.[404]

22 The United States Office of Education approves an allocation of $17 million for the establishment of 23 community schools in Newark. The schools are to be organized and administered by parents and neighborhood organizations in the locale of the schools.[405]

29 Mayor Kenneth Gibson threatens to initiate an investigation of the Board after learning that the Board plans to spend $200,000 for nine positions, including five newly created Associate Superintendents, that the Mayor says violates an agreement arrived at between the Board of School Estimate and Commissioner Marburger. The Mayor says he is opposed to the Board's practice of shifting money within the budget after it is approved and that if they proceed with their appointments, he will seek legislation to preclude their ability to transfer funds within the budget.[406]

30 The Board approves the appointment of five Associate Superintendents of Schools. At the same meeting hundreds of Newark high school students appear before the Board to voice complaints regarding the conditions of their schools and education and to demand improvements in basic academic areas that are serving to impede their education and hinder their ability to go on to college. The Board agrees to one of their demands, to place black liberation flags in each Newark school with an enrollment of at least 50 percent black students. This action initiates a vehement reaction of opposition from Newark whites, including Board member John Cervase, who threatens to sue the Board to block the action.[407]

ANALYSIS

While the time period covered in this study is relatively short, the critical events described here evidence sharp differences between the beginning of the period and the end. What begins in 1964 as a limited labor-management dispute between teachers and a board of education develops by 1971 into a complex political conflict marked by disruption of institutional arrangements, racial confrontation, violence, arrests, and imprisonment. Reviewing this development, it is difficult to determine whether the initial labor-management dispute developed its own momentum and was used as a public arena for other issues or whether it became inextricably entwined in external events that determined the issues and the manner in which they would be contended.

Even the seemingly simple labor-management dispute that arose in 1964 between NTU and the Board, when examined in historical context, can be seen to reflect dimensions of events beyond a local board of education and a group of local teachers. For example, in that same year NTU's parent organization, the AFT, officially adopted an exclusive recognition policy.[408] Not long after NTA defensively engaged NTU in a representational election in December of 1964, its parent group, the NEA, also adopted a policy of exclusive representation (August of 1965).[409] The competition that then ensued in Newark between NTU and NTA for the next several years was to coincide with such competition between their parent groups throughout the country.[410]

Similarly, the adoption by peace activists of the direct techniques of the civil rights movement, provided a reaffirmation of civil disobedience approaches, that were themselves borrowed in part from earlier phases of the labor movement.

In this same time period teachers were aware that other public employees were engaging in such activities, organizing, and demanding collective bargaining arrangements with their government employers. All these groups were seeking to modify the slave wage structure which long characterized municipal employment.[411]

In addition to the influence of actions at the national level, Newark is uniquely subject to extra-local influence of its overwhelming neighbor, New York City. The success of the AFT affiliated United Federation of Teachers in achieving a collective bargaining agreement in New York in 1961 in an atmosphere of confrontation politics[412] presented Newark teachers an influential example. The organizing capacity and residual missionary zeal of the New York union was an additional resource to the Newark affiliate of the AFT.

In these circumstances the Board and other levels of government viewed the militancy and threatening overtures of the teachers as a problem, or at least a potential problem. In this view the problem would consist of a challenge to the Board's decision-making structure. For the first time in its history, the Board was confronted with an organized body of its own employees who were convinced that the Board represented a monoply of decision-making authority and were determined to transfer some of that power to the teachers. The Board, believing the scope of its authority to be a legitimate exercise of prerogatives defined in state law, initially met the demands of the teachers with a self-confident reluctance to modify the distribution of authority.

The teachers, however, saw the Board as an unacceptable autocracy. This view was complicated by the rivalry between the two teachers' organizations; each tended to identify the other as an obstacle to be surmounted.

When NTU threatened a strike in 1964 and actually engaged in a limited strike in 1965, NTA, despite its greater numbers, was placed in a defensive position. Once an election determined that in 1965 Newark teachers preferred NTA as their bargaining agent, NTA had to pursue a bargain with the Board that would not only serve the interests of the teachers, but would also enhance their competitive position relative to that of NTU. By February of 1966, when NTA led a strike against the Board, it would be difficult to determine whether the Board or NTU was the major contender in the dispute.

At the same time Newark was undergoing changes in the composition of its population with significant implications for the school system. As the older and more affluent whites left the city the population and tax base decreased. However, the younger black and Puerto Rican families entering the city provided larger numbers of students to be accommodated by the school system. Furthermore, they were students characterized in the early 1960's as "disadvantaged," that is, students whose academic achievement, measured by so-called standard tests, was less than that of other students. The growing numbers of students had to be accommodated in poorly maintained and clearly inadequate facilities. This situation was further aggravated by rising educational standards nationally and a general challenge to education to decrease the number of school dropouts and increase the level of academic achievement.

Still another dimension of the changing population involved some of the elusive implications of racism. Many of the middle-class whites (and some middle-class blacks as well) viewed migration from Newark to its suburbs as representing simultaneously social mobility and "escape." Such emigrants might emphasize deteriorating living conditions as the phenomenon to be escaped, but deteriorating living conditions were not always distinguished from the presence of increasing numbers of low-income blacks.

For the overwhelmingly white Newark teachers, this could be viewed as peculiarly inimical to themselves (unless we assume they were uniquely devoid of racism). The white teachers could join other whites in residentially "escaping" the city, but the nature of their work required them to spend the greater part of each day there, not insulated in downtown office buildings like other middle-class whites, but in the neighborhoods defined as "undesirable" serving the school age segment of the "undesirable" population. For this "dirty work" they might have been expected to demand "combat pay," as they might have been expected to incorporate their working conditions (including invidious properties of the students) in their conceptualization of the problem.

Another development that would prove to have implications for the school system was growth of self-determination organizations among black people in urban areas. Evolving from the earlier civil rights movement, promoted by the Nation of Islam (often called Black Muslims), and stimulated by the growing recognition that the disenfranchisement of blacks in poverty-encased areas in northern cities was intensifying rather than decreasing, black organizers in cities sought to bring about change in a variety of institutional arrangements. In Newark, organizational mobilization coalesced in the mid-1960's around control of the anti-poverty program established in the city. A struggle developed for autonomous control of the poverty program (and its budget) on the one hand, and control by City Hall on the other. It was racial in that the autonomous body that initially organized and administered the program included a substantial number of blacks, while the City Hall administration was overwhelmingly white.

This development progressed to the larger political arena where a growing racially defined nationalism among blacks met an intransigent whites establishment in increasingly direct confrontation. In Newark, perhaps more than anywhere else, changes in the racial composition of the city's population accentuated this development as it became a distinct dimension of the city's "non-partisan" municipal politics, which easily accommodated racial groupings as contenders in what had long been a contest between white ethnic groups.[413]

These developments did not initially involve the school system or education directly, but for at least two reasons it was inevitable that such a focus would develop. First, insofar as poverty was an initial focus, education was an inseparable dimension in a credentials–oriented white society that would utilize the very principle of equal opportunity as a means of discriminating against blacks.[414] Secondly, as a focus on control of a stillborn poverty program gave way to a focus on control of the municipal government in a city with a black majority, it was also inevitable that education would emerge as the essential issue, for education was the single largest area in the city's purview. The likelihood of its becoming a particularly volatile issue was heightened by education's special position as the largest area in the city's budget and at the same time perhaps the most complex of the city's areas of responsibility. The structure of the school system was complicated politically by the interrelationship of a quasi-autonomous board of education and a quasi-autonomous board of school estimate, intersecting at the municipal level of government. When the teachers arose to posit still another jurisdictional claim on the exercise of authority, they not only further complicated the situation, but also reinforced fears that white dilution, dispersion, and circumvention would deny blacks their political inheritance as the city's racial population changed.[415]

From the viewpoint of Newark's black population, public education had clearly failed to meet the needs of black students and the black community. It became obvious rather early that the anti-poverty program would offer, at best, partial training for jobs that were either technologically obsolete or locked in racially exclusive unions. While the poverty program remained a patronage plum with a plethora of administrative positions worth fighting for, economic opportunity for black youth in a labor-surfeited economy required acquisition of the higher skills allocated in the mainstream academic educational institutions.

To add to the displeasure of the black population, jurisdictional authority by teachers threatened to remove policy formulation from a body that was indirectly, if imperfectly, controlled by a city administration that the city's black population was bound to inherit by sheer weight of its numbers, and additionally threatened to remove the patronage opportunities that gave substance to such an inheritance.

The import of this potentiality began to emerge in 1967, as did reactions to it. One expedient open to an outgoing regime is to use its appointive powers to strategically insure that its appointees succeed itself, a device likely to be used by the patronage machine that constituted Newark's municipal government. In May of that year ONE was formed as an effort, in part, to overcome the virtual exclusion of blacks from administrative positions in the schools that were by then approximately 75 per cent black and Puerto Rican in student composition. Only one month later Mayor Addonizio presented a higher level challenge, that white City Councilman James Callaghan be appointed Secretary to the Board and incumbent secretary Hess be appointed a consultant to Callaghan at an equal salary. Faced by vehement opposition, the Board countered with a promise to appoint several blacks to administrative positions, which it did, along with an equal number of whites including Mayor Addonizio's brother. The ploy did not work; ONE and other black groups maintained their opposition to Callaghan and his appointment was effectively blocked.

Less than six months later, even as ONE sought to eliminate the test procedures that kept blacks from gaining promotions, the city's black population was confronted with the ultimate mainfestation of threatened disinheritance. The Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder proposed that the state take over administration of the city's school system. Although some black leaders spoke in favor of state takeover, ONE saw the takeover as a shift in control during a time in which blacks would be assuming an increasing degree of power in the city.

There is little evidence that white teachers acted in a conspiratorial effort with the Board or city hall officials to maintain a white hegemony. But they did not have to act conspiratorially. They had only to act in terms of their own self-interest to become engaged in a racial struggle, as did the city's blacks. The threats and fears that were self nourishing. As blacks worked toward a greater solidarity to wrest control of their own destiny in their own city, white teachers were confronted not only with having to serve the children of the "undesirable" population of Newark in the "undesirable" neighborhoods in which the schools were located, but potentially under the administrative direction of the "undesirable" adults themselves. Greater autonomy was necessary to minimize that potentiality. In turn, the more the teachers talked about autonomy, the more convinced blacks became that the teachers cared little about their students and were only concerned with taking over the school system. Thus the racial polarization ratchet turned in Newark.

Racial confrontation in Newark was by no means all rhetoric. In July of 1967, confrontation was direct and violent and from the ashes of that struggle rose two powerful personalities. Le Roi Jones (Imamu Amiri Baraka) and Anthony Imperiale became self-proclaimed representatives of their races and squared off in front of the news media as default leaders to deal with the city's issues, which they agreed were simple - black and white. In 1968, when they became engaged in debate on the education issues, the situation was one of racial polarization of high school students accentuated by physical confrontation, and each strove to keep the issues defined racially and to keep the students apart.

While these events, and the televised Ocean Hill-Brownsville confrontation, did little to assuage the hostile perspectives in which the teachers and the community viewed one another,[416] the one place in which little racial division was mainfested was in the ranks of the teachers. Even the formation of ONE did not appear to represent an overt racial division among the teachers so much as it did a special pressure group vis-a-vis the Board. Even when ONE succeeded in having the principals' examinations suspended in 1968, the redress of the injustice was so long overdue that little criticism emanated from the ranks of the teachers, except for those directly affected by the turn of events.

One possible interpretation of the teachers' unity was the one division in American society that may supercede even race, class interest, the teachers could find common ground in the middle-class status that their occupation, if not their backgrounds, conferred upon them, underscored by their residence in the city's suburbs or at least its suburban-like residential areas. In terms of class, the black and white teachers alike could share the conviction that the problem consisted of a hostile city environment, the onerous necessity of having to teach students from low-income families under the handicap of inadequate resources and a growing sentiment of community control of schools.

By the time NTA had to contend with the Board for a new contract near the end of 1969, this class solidarity would determine the course of events for the teachers. As 1969 drew to a close, NTA's leadership was a shambles. Its president, Michael Limongello, refused to violate a Superior Court injunction and lead a strike against the Board after failing to win a raise for the teachers.

Inevitably, the teachers overwhelmingly elected NTU their representative. ONE, a contender in the representational election, failed to acquire a percentage of the vote equivalent to the percentage of black teachers in the city. That race might give way to class in the future was already emerging as a reality in 1969.

NTU was then presented with the same duality of contenders in its confrontation with the Board in 1970 that NTA had earlier experienced. NTU had to succeed in its bargaining with the Board as much to solidify its recently won ascendency over NTA as to carry out its responsibility as representative of the teachers. Meanwhile, it had to keep an eye on ONE as still another potential competitor. Furthermore, NTU represented the first major victory for the American Federation of Teachers in representing the teachers of a large school system in New Jersey. As a result, NTU also had to succeed to enhance the organizational capacity of AFT in other parts of New Jersey and beyond. NTU therefore carried responsibilities beyond the limits of its own constituency, although as a consequence the national AFT was available as a willing resource.

If the Board in 1964 could conceptualize the organized actions of Newark teachers as constituting a problem, by 1970 they could only view that problem as infinitely exacerbated. They were confronted in 1970 with far more adamant demands to surrender their prerogatives, by a far better organized teacher constituency. They were confronted by an organization of teachers supported by a national union ready to invest its resources in a national battle to be fought in a local school district, a body of teachers solidified by their shared conviction that they were victims who had to act defensively for sheer survival.

To add to the difficulties of the Boards, it found that it could not easily rest upon its legal prerogatives, for they existed in a political context, and the legitimacy of that political context was by 1970 in serious jeopardy. After the bloody 1967 rebellion of blacks, Newark acquired national recognition as a center of urban decay, characterized in superlative statistics describing housing deterioration, crime, disease, unemployment, etc. The ubiquitous perception of Newark as a center of political corruption received substance when top city officials were implicated in federal recordings of alleged Mafia leaders subsequently indicted in the federal courts.

As an indirect division of this political structure the Board could not fully disassociate itself from the notoriety. Not could it disregard the racial dimensions that intersected these events. Black students now constituted 75 per cent of the Newark schools' student population and there was a numerical majority of blacks in the city's population. The corruption-tainted power structure, in its last stages of domination, was essentially white. There had developed a number of local community organizations, expressing an interest in educational affairs, an interest increasingly articulated in racial terms. A bitter struggle over community control of schools in neighboring New York had received extensive media coverage. Students in Newark were organizing their own interest groups, often along racial lines. Campaigning in what promised to be a racially oriented municipal election had commenced, the city's single tax base could withstand no further burden and the city's debt capacity was exhausted.

This complex of factors that had been developing for a number of years made the 1970 contract negotiations a simultaneously political, racial, labor-management struggle of major proportions and only partially an educational issue. The various contenders faced the dispute with discrete and incompatible conceptualizations of the situation.

The teachers, seeing themselves in an exploited and precarious position, presented the Board with a twenty-five million dollar package of demands that included a reduction in teacher responsibilities, increased job security and autonomy, and participation in administration decisions.

The Board, defining NTU's demands preposterous and its own prerogatives imperiled and sacred, rejected the NTU proposals and underscored its action by adopting a budget that could not possibly meet NTU demands and, further, by securing a court injunction against a strike.

Other groups and the roles they played directly or indirectly were no less significant. The city's black population saw a situation in which it had the most at stake and the least opportunity to effect the situation. While there was no reason for the black population to hold the Board in particular affection, it was part of an inheritance that would come with political ascendency, if the traditional prerogatives remained with the Board. The possibility of state takeover of the school system had by 1970 receded, but the NTU in 1970 was attempting to transfer many such prerogatives to the teachers. By engaging in a strike that would deny education to a mainly black student body, NTU readily served as the focus for black antagonism. This cast the black population in a supportive role vis-a-vis the Board.

The white population of the city was not as active in the situation for several reasons. First, they made up a small and diminishing proportion of the city's population, their children made up a small proportion of the student body in the schools, they were in segregated neighborhoods and schools. They had a strong enough orientation to suburban relocation and the use of private schools to have solutions at hand should events threaten to affect the education of their children. Secondly, control of the city's political structure, including the Board, was held by whites; therefore, the interests of whites were obstensibly protected. Whites in Newark had not developed grass roots community organizations of any significance, outside of the establishment structures. The ambivalence following from the choice of supporting a white power structures with fragile tenure versus a mainly white union that might inherit the power if it were lost to a black city administration further impeded taking a stand in the dispute. These factors would suggest that for the most part whites could be expected to remain aloof, except for one additional dimension of the situation -- blacks were opposed to the teachers and in favor of greater community control, which readily translated to black control. The militant stance of blacks, the general racial animosity in Newark and the fears of black domination were factors that, when combined with the sentiments that Newark whites were likely to share with the white teachers, were enough to tip the balance for whites to support the teachers.

As the 1970 strike commenced, the presence of two more entities could be felt - the Superior Court and NTU's parent organization the American Federation of Teachers. In both instances their participation represented institutional obligations in concert with their own objectives. The AFT was obligated to assist its Newark local NTU as the parent union, and sought to enhance tis competitive position vis-a-vis the New Jersey Education Association and the American Education Association by securing a powerful contract for NTU. Similarly the Superior Court was obligated to support the Board as a law enforcement authority when its assistance was solicited in terms of the Board's legal authority, and the court also had to reaffirm a position which it had assumed in the first NTU strike in 1965 or risk undermining its own authority.

Marked by minor violence, some racial confrontations and mass arrests, the month-long record-breaking strike was resolved in terms of one-year contract that represented a victory for NTU. NTU had won what was probably the best contract ever secured by a teachers' organization in New Jersey, if not in the nation. The settlement was arrived at only after the personal intervention of Mayor Addonizio, under indictment on corruption charges and commencing a re-election campaign. The mayor's desire to placate and solicit the city's whites for his own political ends could not easily be dismissed as an explanation of NTU's victory.

The victory was not without unfortunate results, however. Two hundred teachers still faced imprisonment, significant segments of Newark's black population were incensed at what they saw as a sell-out of their children's interests by white power structure to what they viewed as a white union, the state level of government and state level of organized labor had undermined their own relevance by making many threats of intervention which they never fulfilled, and the financial implications of the settlement were uncertain.

The settlement did not in any way modify the basic dichotomy of viewpoint. The Board immediately found 13 items in the ratified contract that they said had not been agreed upon; the teachers refused to carry out "non-professional chores" and won an arbitration dispute on the issue. As the year passed the Board and NTU took increasingly hostile stances toward one another.

By the time the 1971 negotiations began between NTU and the Board, the context in which bargaining would occur had changed. During 1970 Kenneth Gibson became Newark's first black mayor. While the City Council retained a white majority, the strong-mayor government structure of Newark provided Mayor Gibson with certain prerogatives, including that of Board of Education appointments. By the time the 1971 contract talks began the Board no longer had a white majority and, further, Jesse Jacob had been elected President of the Board. Jacob, who in 1970 served as a major opponent of the teachers' strike and a state witness against teachers charged with violation of the anti-strike injunction, was an avowed apponent of NTU and a severe critic of the contract that the Board had signed with NTU in 1970.

With these changes, evaluations of the situation could be expected to change as well. The city's black population had inherited the city administration, if not completely, and the Board. It could therefore be expected that in the 1971 negotiations NTU could not win the kind of agreement it had won in 1970. But that NTU had won so strong a contract in 1970, and arbitration decisions that served to reinforce it, contradicted such a possibility, for union gains were traditionally not surrendered one won. In these circumstances an intransigent board was met with an intransigent union in a long and bitter struggle that inevitably revolved about the implications of the 1970 contract.

The issue that immediately arose and characterized the elongated bargaining struggle was whether the 1970 contract should serve as an established plateau, from which bargaining could proceed, or whether its termination on January 31, 1971 precluded any commitment on the part of the Board to its components. NTU took the former position, the Board the latter.

While this served as the major stumbling block, given that one key component, binding arbitration, had served the teachers in securing another key component, relief from non-teaching chores, it did not exhaust the issues that would arise in the conflict. Once again, the stature of NTU was at stake because its victory in 1970 had to be secured as a precedent rather than a short achievement. The racial polarization of Newark's population also remained, and indeed grew as a factor, as the Board's own membership reflected and was subject to community pressures that defined the negotiations as a racial struggle. That white students suffered the same educational deficiencies as the black students generated no concerted inter-racial effort to define the situation an "education" problem.

While whites played a largely passive role of supporting the union by honoring NTU's picket lines and covertly pressuring the Board and city administration members, blacks faced the issues more openly. They charged that NTU was an organization primarily serving the interests of white teachers who lived outside the city; that the teachers were not committed to the basic interests of Newark's overwhelmingly black student body, whom they gave poor instruction at high salaries; and that the teachers were seeking to wrest control of the school system from the Board after the balance of power in the city's municipal government and the Board had been

acquired by the city's black majority.

The arrest and jailing of NTU's leaders, sporadic violence and racial confrontations, and the record-breaking length of the strike, all underscored the tenacity with which incompatible points of view were maintained and the significance that the numerous direct and indirect actors in the struggle felt its resolution would embody.

The strike was settled in its third month through the intervention of Mayor Kenneth Gibson, who had withdrawn from the settlement efforts after his involvement at the beginning of the strike failed to resolve the difference between NTU and the Board. The "compromise" that the Mayor used to bring the strike to an end differed little from the agreement to which NTU had agreed during his efforts at the beginning of the strike. In this sense NTU may be said to have won the dispute by retaining the 1970 contract virtually intact. But depletion of the union's treasury, impending imprisonment for NTU members, intensified racial polarization and a deepened hostility with which the city's black population viewed the teachers, precluded any cause for celebration on the part of NTU. Obviously the Board had not won a victory, given its failure to substantially modify the 1970 contract. If the outcome of the 1971 strike could at best be assessed as a net loss for all concerned, there was still one group of Newarkers for whom it was a greater loss: the students, in whose interest the contenders had adamantly justified their stances and in whose interest they would justify the commencement of the next round.

CONCLUSIONS

While this report has focused on the local arena of action, this should not be interpreted as suggesting that other levels are less relevant. Consideration must be given to the regional, state and national social forces which intersected within the local conflict, however indirect and elusive they may be.

The critical factors at all levels were race and resource allocation. The factor of race, the action taken toward events and issues in terms of black or white group interests, is obvious throughout the sequence of events defining the Newark strikes. Its presence was sometimes covert, latent, informal and intermittent, but never absent. It is literally impossible to examine and assess events in Newark during the past decade without taking account of race. Even as Newark's white population continues to decline to a small proportion of the city's total population, race does not decline as an issue of magnitude. The city's subordination to higher levels of governmental authority, as well as its integration in regional and national institutional arrangements, ensures that the racial complications in the larger society will continue to effect events in Newark.

Similarly, the allocation of resources cannot be separated from regional, state and national levels. That blacks, in terms of their economic, political and social status, have and continue to subsidize whites in a system of inequality has been a basic dimension of American society throughout its history.[417] Inequality of education and its ramifications has long characterized such subsidization.[418] The inadequate resources so obvious in the Newark school system, and the conflict that has surrounded their allocation, reflect the inequities of allocation within higher level arenas of resource distribution. If per-student expenditures are lower in Newark than they are in the city's suburbs of the rest of New Jersey, as they are,[419] then the students in the other districts reap the benefit of the unequal distribution. While resource inequities in school districts such as Newark affect white as well as black students and are to some extent non-racial, the segregation of blacks within metropolitan areas in central cities suffering fiscal inequities tends to further racial subsidization of education.

The allocation of resources and control of the allocation apparatus was a critical issue in the strikes and will likely remain a critical issue in the future, perhaps even intensifying as the resources become more scarce. That this conflict was manifested in racial terms in the course of the strikes was reflected in the white support of NTU and the black support of the Board.

A major aspect of this competition was revealed by efforts of blacks to initiate community control of education. This effort reflects a more general ideological disposition toward self-determination, control of the institutional arrangements that significantly shape life, and the autonomy necessary to the ordering of priorities and procedures. While reflective of a set of attitudes existent throughout American society, these dispositions have been particularly strong in Newark's black community.[420] As the first American city (exclusive of the District of Columbia) to have a black majority population, it was inevitable that the democratic ethos of self-determination would be pursued more strongly in Newark than elsewhere and would become focused in such institutions as education.

While in the course of the strikes examined in this report the state and federal levels of government played largely benign and indirect roles, their salience was present. To the degree that the events that occurred in Newark reflected issues relevant at the state and federal level and to the extent that resource allocation has become increasingly exercised at those levels, the strategic importance and involvement of these levels will grow in the future.

The pertinence of these factors and their complex inter-relationships emerged more clearly in the social conflict that surrounded the teachers' strikes. That these linkages, clarified by events in Newark, will become more conscious dimensions of struggle in the future seems inevitable. Should the state and federal levels of government choose not to assume the degree of responsibility in Newark's educational affairs that their control of resources obligates them to assume, that will likely prove as critical a decision in its consequences as a more positive response.

If 1973 can be anticipated at all, it will likely involve three dimensions that will evolve as determinants and results of social conflict revolving about the school system in Newark. One is the development and growth of community control and community service as a basic aspect of the school system, as the black community continues to strive toward real rather than nominal control of Newark. The second dimension is the possible increase in significance of class as a factor in cleavages within the black community, whether race increases or diminishes as a significant factor in the city. The third dimension will be a more manifest appearance of the roles of outside structures and forces at the regional, state and national levels. It is inevitable that higher level decision-makers will be required by the limitations at the local level to assume a degree of responsibility commensurate with the degree of power exercised at those higher levels. If only to bring these factors to the fore, it may be concluded that the social conflict that has occurred in Newark in the past decade has served positive purposes.

NOTES

1. We wish to acknowledge the assistance of Virginia Ann Conforti and Evelynn Myers, who helped collect some of the information used in this report, and Lorraine Maxwell and Marie DiStefano Miller, who provided us useful suggestions.

2. John T. Cunningham, NEWARK (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1966), pp. 211 ff.

3. Class will be used in this report to refer to social and economic inequality as mainfested in occupation and income, reflective of particular determinant circumstances and experiences as well as consequential prespectives, interests and life styles.

4. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, February 28, 1964.

5. NEWARK STAR LEDGER, October 28, 1964.

6. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, December 16, 1964.

7. NEWARK STAR LEDGER, January 7, 1965.

8. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, January 16, 1965.

9. Ibid., February 24, 1965.

10. Ibid., April 11, 1965.

11. NEWARK STAR LEDGER, April 28, 1965.

12. "Agreement between the Newark Board of Education and the Newark Teachers' Association covering the period July 28, 1965 to July 27, 1966," (dated July 27, 1965).

13. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, June 25, 1965.

14. NEWARK STAR LEDGER, September 8, 1965.

15. Ibid., September 9, 1965.

16. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, October 10, 1965.

17. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, October 14, 1965.

18. NEWARK STAR LEDGER, October 22, 1965.

19. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, October 26, 1965.

20. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, October 26, 1965.

21. NEWARK STAR LEDGER, October 28, 1965.

22. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, November 4, 1965.

23. Ibid., November 18, 1965.

24. Ibid., November 19, 1965.

25. Ibid., November 26, 1965.

26. NEWARK STAR LEDGER, November 29, 1965.

27. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, November 30, 1965.

28. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, December 2, 1965.

29. Ibid., December 4, 1965.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., December 12, 1965.

32. Ibid., March 4, 1966.

33. NEWARK STAR LEDGER, January 21, 1966.

34. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, January 28, 1966.

35. NEWARK STAR LEDGER, January 31, 1966.

36. Ibid., February 4, 1966.

37. Ibid., February 10, 1966.

38. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, February 12, 1966.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., February 22, 1966.

41. Ibid., March 1, 1966.

42. NEWARK STAR LEDGER, March 9, 1966.

43. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, March 16, 1966.

44. Ibid., June 15, 1966.

45. Ibid., July 7 1966.

46. Ibid., January 31, 1967

47. Ibid., February 10, 1967.

48. Ibid., March 2, 1967.

49. NEW JERSEY AFRO-AMERICAN, April 1, 1967.

50. Interview with Fred Means, June 15, 1971.

51. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, May 21, 1967.

52. NEWARK STAR LEDGER, May 28, 1967.

53. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, June 10, 1967.

54. "Agreement between the Newark Board of Education and the Newark Teachers' Association covering the period February 1, 1967 to February 1, 1970," (dated July 19, 1967).

55. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, June 22, 1967.

56. Ibid., June 23, 1967.

57. Ibid., June 25, 1967.

58. NEW YORK TIMES, June 25, 1967.

59. Ibid.

60. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, June 25, 1967.

61. Ibid., June 27, 1967.

62. Ibid., June 28, 1967.

63. Ibid., June 29, 1967.

64. Report for Action: Govenor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder, State of New Jersey, Trenton, 1968. See also Tom Hayden, REBELLION IN NEWARK, (New York: Vintage, 1967).

65. NEWARK STAR LEDGER, July 13, 1967.

66. REPORT FOR ACTION, op. cit.

67. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, July 26, 1967.

68. THE EVENING NEWS, September 1, 1967.

69. Ibid., September 6, 1967.

70. Ibid., September 14, 1967.

71. Ibid., September 26, 1967.

72. THE STAR LEDGER, September 30, 1967.

73. THE EVENING NEWS, October 1, 1967.

74. Ibid., October 11, 1967.

75. THE STAR LEDGER, October 12, 1967.

76. NEW YORK TIMES, October 14, 1967.

77. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, October 15, 1967.

78. THE EVENING NEWS, October 19, 1971.

79. NEW YORK TIMES, November 17, 1967.

80. Ibid.

81. THE STAR LEDGER, November 18, 1967.

82. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, November 19, 1967.

83. THE EVENING NEWS, December 12, 1967.

84. Fred Means, President of ONE, stressed that many black teachers held substitute status while doing exactly the work of certified teachers. (Interview with Fred Means, June 15, 1971).

85. THE EVENING NEWS, December 14, 1967.

86. ibid., December 15, 1967.

87. REPORT FOR ACTION, op. cit., p. 170.

88. Ibid., pp. 75ff.

89. THE EVENING NEWS, February 6, 1968.

90. Ibid., February 7, 1968.

91. Ibid., March 19, 1968.

92. THE STAR LEDGER, March 20, 1968.

93. THE EVENING NEWS, March 26, 1968.

94. Ibid., March 27, 1968.

95. THE SUNDAY STAR LEDGER, March 31, 1968.

96. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, April 21, 1968.

97. THE EVENING NEWS, April 25, 1968.

98. Ibid.

99. THE STAR LEDGER, April 29, 1968.

100. THE EVENING NEWS, April 30, 1968.

101. Ibid., May 9, 1968.

102. Ibid., May 11, 1968.

103. THE STAR LEDGER, May 15, 1968.

104. THE EVENING NEWS, May 15, 1968.

105. THE STAR LEDGER, May 17, 1968.

106. Ibid.

107. THE EVENING NEWS, May 18, 1968.

108. Ibid., May 22, 1968.

109. Ibid., November 8, 1969.

110. Ibid., June 11, 1968.

111. Ibid., June 20, 1968

112. Ibid., June 26, 1968.

113. THE SUNDAY STAR LEDGER, July 7, 1968.

114. THE EVENING NEWS, July 23, 1968.

115. Fred Means, President of ONE, claims credit on behalf of ONE for effecting this change in the Board's policy. (Interview with Fred Means, June 15, 1971).

116. THE STAR LEDGER, August 8, 1968.

117. THE EVENING NEWS, August 9, 1968.

118. NEW YORK TIMES, August 14, 1968.

119. THE EVENING NEWS, August 23, 1968.

120. THE STAR LEDGER, August 27, 1968.

121. Ibid., August 29, 1968.

122. THE EVENING NEWS, September 20, 1968.

123. Ibid., September 21, 1968.

124. THE STAR LEDGER, October 23, 1968.

125. THE SUNDAY STAR LEDGER, November 17, 1968.

126. THE EVENING NEWS, January 15, 1969.

127. Ibid., January 23, 1969;

128. Ibid., January 28, 1969.

129. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, January 29, 1969.

130. THE EVENING NEWS, January 31, 1969.

131. THE SUNDAY STAR LEDGER, February 26, 1969.

132. THE EVENING NEWS, March 1, 1969.

133. Ibid., March 2, 1969.

134. Ibid., March 6, 1969.

135. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, April 9, 1969.

136. THE EVENING NEWS, May 25, 1969.

137. Ibid., June 1, 1969.

138. THE STAR LEDGER, July 31, 1969.

139. THE EVENING NEWS, August 15, 1969.

140. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, August 24, 1969.

141. THE STAR LEDGER, August 26, 1969.

142. THE EVENING NEWS, August 26, 1969.

143. Ibid., September 4, 1969.

144. Ibid., September 10, 1969.

145. Ibid., September 12, 1969.

146. Ibid., September 17, 1969.

147. Ibid., September 20, 1969.

148. THE STAR LEDGER, October 10, 1969.

149. THE EVENING NEWS, October 13, 1969.

150. Ibid., October 23, 1969.

151. Ibid., October 29, 1969.

152. Ibid., November 6, 1969.

153. Ibid., November 8, 1969.

154. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, November 9, 1969.

155. THE EVENING NEWS, November 19, 1969.

156. Ibid., December 2, 1969.

157. THE STAR LEDGER, December 11, 1969.

158. THE EVENING NEWS, December 24, 1969.

159. Ibid., December 31, 1969.

160. Ibid., January 17, 1970.

161. Ibid., January 29, 1970.

162. Ibid., January 30, 1970.

163, NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, February 1, 1970.

164. THE EVENING NEWS, February 2, 1970.

165. Ibid., February 3, 1970.

166. NEW YORK TIMES, February 2, 1970.

167. THE EVENING NEWS, February 3, 1970.

168. NEW YORK TIMES, February 3, 1970.

169. THE EVENING NEWS, February 4, 1970.

170. Ibid., February 5, 1970.

171. Ibid., February 6, 1970.

172. Ibid.

173. Ibid., February 7, 1970.

174. Ibid.

175. THE STAR LEDGER, February 9, 1970.

176. THE EVENING NEWS, February 9, 1970.

177. Ibid.

178. Ibid., February 10, 1970.

179. Ibid., February 11, 1970.

180. Ibid.

181. Ibid.

182. Ibid.

183. Ibid.

184. Ibid.

185. THE STAR LEDGER, February 12, 1970.

186. THE EVENING NEWS, February 13, 1970.

187. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, February 15, 1970.

188. Ibid.

189. THE EVENING NEWS, February 16, 1970.

190. THE STAR LEDGER, February 17, 1970.

191. THE EVENING NEWS, February 17, 1970.

192. Ibid., February 18, 1970.

193. Ibid., February 19, 1970.

194. Ibid.

195. Ibid.

196 Ibid.

197. Ibid.

198. THE STAR LEDGER, February 20, 1970.

199. Ibid.

200. Ibid.

201. Ibid.

202. Ibid.

203. THE EVENING NEWS, February 20, 1970.

204. Ibid.

205. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, February 22, 1970.

206. THE STAR LEDGER, February 23, 1970.

207. THE EVENING NEWS, February 24, 1970.

208. Ibid.

209. THE STAR LEDGER, February 24, 1970.

210. Ibid., February 25, 1970.

211. THE EVENING NEWS, February 25, 1970.

212. NEW YORK TIMES, February 26, 1970.

213. "Agreement between the Board of Education of the City of Newark and the Newark Teachers' Union, Local 481, AFT/AFL-CIO," (dated February 25 and 26, 1970).

214. THE EVENING NEWS, February 26, 1970.

215. NEWARK EVENING NEWS, February 27, 1970.

216. Ibid., February 27, 1970.

217. This charge parallels one made by Fred Means that the mayor was anxious to settle the strike in favor of NTU in order to gain support from labor and the white community for the 1970 mayoral election. (Interview with Fred Means, June 15, 1971).

218. NEW JERSEY AFRO-AMERICAN, March 7, 1970.

219. THE EVENING NEWS, March 13, 1970.

220. Ibid., March 25, 1970.

221. Ibid., March 26, 1970.

222. Ibid., March 31, 1970.

223. Ibid., April 21, 1970.

224. THE STAR LEDGER, May 13, 1970.

225. THE EVENING NEWS, May 16, 1970.

226. THE STAR LEDGER, June 17, 1970.

227. Ibid., June 19, 1970.

228. Ibid., June 23, 1970.

229. THE EVENING NEWS, July 18, 1970.

230. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, July 19, 1970.

231. THE EVENING NEWS, July 21, 1970.

232. Ibid., September 1, 1970.

233. Ibid., September 4, 1970.

234. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, September 6, 1970.

235. THE EVENING NEWS, September 10, 1970.

236. Ibid., September 17, 1970.

237. Ibid., September 18, 1970.

238. THE STAR LEDGER, September 25, 1970.

239. THE EVENING NEWS, October 16, 1970.

240. Ibid., October 26, 1970.

241. THE STAR LEDGER, October 28, 1970.

242. THE EVENING NEWS, November 5, 1970.

243. Ibid., November 6, 1970.

244. THE STAR LEDGER, November 13, 1970.

245. THE EVENING NEWS, November 20, 1970.

246. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, November 22, 1970.

247. THE EVENING NEWS, November 24, 1970.

248. Ibid., November 25, 1970.

249. Ibid., December 1, 1970.

250. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, December 6, 1970.

251. Ibid.

252. Ibid.

253. Ibid.

254. THE EVENING NEWS, December 10, 1970.

255. Ibid., December 11, 1970.

256. Ibid., December 17, 1970.

257. Ibid., January 6, 1971; THE STAR LEDGER, January 6, 1971.

258. THE STAR LEDGER, January 13, 1971.

259. THE EVENING NEWS, January 29, 1971.

260. Ibid., January 25, 1971.

261. THE STAR LEDGER, January 27, 1971.

262. Ibid., January 28, 1971.

263. THE EVENING NEWS, January 29, 1971.

264. Ibid.

265. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, January 31, 1971.

266. NEW YORK TIMES, February 1, 1971.

267. THE EVENING NEWS, February 1, 1971.

268. Ibid., February 2, 1971.

269. THE STAR LEDGER, February 2, 1971.

270. THE EVENING NEWS, February 3, 1971.

271. Ibid.

272. Ibid.

273. NEW YORK TIMES, February 4, 1971.

274. THE STAR LEDGER, February 4, 1971.

275. Ibid., February 5, 1971.

276. Ibid.

277. Ibid.

278. Ibid.

279. Ibid.

280. THE EVENING NEWS, February 6, 1971.

281. THE STAR LEDGER, February 6, 1971.

282. THE EVENING NEWS, February 6, 1971.

283. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, February 7, 1971.

284. THE SUNDAY STAR LEDGER, February 7, 1971.

285. THE STAR LEDGER, February 8, 1971.

286. THE EVENING NEWS, February 8, 1971.

287. Ibid., February 9, 1971

288. Ibid., February 10, 1971.

289. Ibid., February 10, 1971.

290. THE STAR LEDGER, February 11, 1971.

291. Ibid.

292. Ibid.

293. THE EVENING NEWS, February 11, 1971.

294. Ibid.

295. Ibid., February 10, 1971.

296. Ibid., February 11, 1971.

297. THE STAR LEDGER, February 12, 1971.

298. Ibid.

299. Ibid.

300. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, February 14, 1971.

301. Ibid.

302. THE EVENING NEWS, February 15, 1971.

303. Ibid., February 16, 1971.

304. Ibid.

305. NEW YORK TIMES, February 16, 1971.

306. THE EVENING NEWS, February 17, 1971.

307. Ibid.

308. THE STAR LEDGER, February 18, 1971.

309. THE EVENING NEWS, February 19, 1971.

310. Ibid.

311. Ibid.

312. THE EVENING NEWS, February 20, 1971.

313. Ibid.

314. MUHAMMAD SPEAKS, February 19, 1971.

315. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, February 21, 1971.

316. THE EVENING NEWS, February 22, 1971.

317. Ibid.

318. THE EVENING NEWS, February 23, 1971.

319. Ibid.

320. Ibid.

321. THE STAR LEDGER, February 24, 1971.

322. Ibid.

323 Ibid.

324. THE EVENING NEWS, February 25, 1971.

325. THE STAR LEDGER, February 25, 1971.

326. THE EVENING NEWS, February 25, 1971.

327. THE STAR LEDGER, February 25, 1971.

328. THE EVENING NEWS, February 25, 1971.

329. Ibid., February 26, 1971.

330. Ibid.

331. Ibid.

332. Ibid.

333. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, February 28, 1971.

334. THE EVENING NEWS, March 1, 1971.

335. Ibid.

336. Ibid.

337. NEW YORK TIMES, March 2, 1971.

338. THE EVENING NEWS, March 2, 1971.

339. Ibid

340. Ibid., March 3, 1971.

341. Ibid., March 4, 1971.

342. Ibid.

343. Ibid.

344. Ibid.

345. Ibid., March 5, 1971.

346. Ibid.

347. THE STAR LEDGER, March 8, 1971.

348. THE EVENING NEWS, March 10, 1971.

349. Ibid.

350. Ibid

351. Ibid.

352. THE STAR LEDGER, March 10, 1971.

353. Ibid., March 11, 1971.

354. THE EVENING NEWS, March 12, 1971.

355. Ibid.

356. Ibid.

357. Ibid., March 16, 1971.

358. Ibid.

359. Ibid., March 17, 1971.

360. Ibid., March 18, 1971.

361. Ibid.

362. Ibid., March 19, 1971.

363. THE SUNDAY STAR LEDGER, March 21, 1971.

364. THE EVENING NEWS, March 24, 1971.

365. Ibid.

366. Ibid., March 25, 1971.

367. Ibid., March 26, 1971.

368. Ibid., March 27, 1971.

369. THE EVENING NEWS, March 29, 1971.

370. NEW YORK TIMES, March 30, 1971.

371. THE STAR LEDGER, April 2, 1971.

372. THE EVENING NEWS, April 4, 1971.

373. Ibid., April 3, 1971.

374. Ibid., April 4, 1971.

375. Ibid., April 5, 1971.

376. Ibid., April 6, 1971.

377. Ibid., April 7, 1971.

378. Ibid., April 8, 1971.

379. Ibid.

380. THE STAR LEDGER, April 11, 1971.

381. THE EVENING NEWS, April 11, 1971.

382. Ibid.

383. NEW YORK TIMES, April 15, 1971.

384. THE EVENING NEWS, April 15, 1971.

385. THE STAR LEDGER, April 16, 1971.

386. NEW YORK TIMES, April 17, 1971.

387. NEWARK SUNDAY NEWS, April 18, 1971.

388. THE EVENING NEWS, April 19, 1971.

389. "Agreement between the Board of Education of the City of Newark and the Newark Teachers' Union, Local 481, AFT/AFL-CIO," (dated April 18, 1971).

390. Ibid.

391. Ibid., May 13, 1971.

392. THE STAR LEDGER, July 1, 1971.

393. Ibid., July 2, 1971.

394. THE SUNDAY STAR LEDGER, July 11, 1971.

395. THE STAR LEDGER, July 16, 1971.

396. Ibid., July 20, 1971.

397. Ibid., July 28, 1971.

398. Ibid.

399. THE SUNDAY STAR LEDGER, August 1, 1971.

400. THE REPORT OF THE SURVEY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, (Newark: Greater Newark Chamber of Commerce, June, 1971).

401. THE STAR LEDGER, September 16, 1971.

402. Ibid., October 5, 1971.

403. Ibid., October 15, 1971.

404. THE STAR LEDGER, November 10, 1971.

405. Ibid., November 23, 1971.

406. Ibid., November 30, 1971.

407. Ibid., December 1, 1971.

408. Myron Lieberman and Michael H. Moskow, COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS FOR TEACHERS (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), pp. 110ff.

409. Ibid.

410. Ibid. See also Alan Rosenthal, "Pedagogues and Power." URBAN AFFAIRS QUARTERLY, II (September, 1966), pp. 94ff.

411. Ivar Berg, "Collective Bargaining in Public Education," THE URBAN REVIEW, III (June, 1969). p. 24. See also Frances Fox Piven, "Militant Civil Servants in New York City," TRANS-ACTION, VII (November, 1969), pp. 24. ff.

412. Alan Rosenthal, "New Voices in Public Education," TEACHERS COLLEGE RECORD, 68 (October 1966), pp. 13-20.

413. See John O'Shea, "Newark: Negroes Move Toward Power," ATLANTIC MONTHLY, 216 (November, 1965), pp. 90 ff. See also Gerald Pomper, "Ethnic and Group Voting in Nonpartisan Municipal Elections," THE PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY, 30 (Spring, 1966), pp. 79-97.

414. Sidney M. Willhelm, "Red Man, Black Man and White America: The Constitutional Approach to Genocide," CATALYST, (Spring, 1969), pp. 1ff.

415. This fear has been articulated in terms of dilution through white suburban annexation of black cities -- see Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, "Black Control of Cities: Heading it off by Metropolitan Government," THE NEW REPUBLIC, 157 (September 30, 1967), pp.19 ff. However, given the privileges that are secured through segregation in federally subsidized suburban enclaves, it is highly unlikely that such metropolitanization will occur. It is much more likely that institutional control will be exercised by white suburbanites, in concert with and through the higher levels of government to which central cities are subordinate and over which the white suburban masses utlimately prevail.

416. See Maurice R. Berude and Marilyn Gittell, Editors, CONFRONTATION AT OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969).

417. Richard America, "What Whites Owe Blacks," THE CENTER MAGAZINE, (November/December 1971), pp. 64-66.

418. Eli Ginzberg, THE NEGRO POTENTIAL (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956).

419. Seymour Sacks and David C. Ranney, "Suburban Education: A Fiscal Analysis," in Marilyn Gittell, Editor, EDUCATING AN URBAN POPULATION, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1967).

420. Howard Schuman and Barry Gruenberg, "The Impact of City on Racial Attitudes," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, (September, 1970), pp. 213-261.

The New Jersey State Department of Education is generally in accord with the philosophy of the authors of "Perspective" papers. However, the views expressed in these papers are the result of planning and research in areas of educational interest, and do not necessarily reflect current policies of the Department of Education.